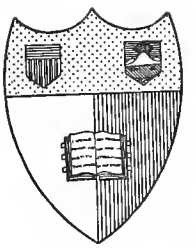
PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

LIONEL CUST



NOTES ON PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

The Lovers

attributed to Titian or Bordone

in the collection of H.M. The King

NOTES ON PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

COLLECTED AND EDITED FOR THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE BY

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PREFACE

AT the accession of King Edward VII in 1901, the changes which were found necessary in the royal palaces involved the displacement and overhauling of the very extensive collections of pictures and other works of art at Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, Osborne House, and other royal residences. The principal paintings in the royal collection were fairly well known to connoisseurs, and the two large volumes, which were executed and issued by the Fine Arts Publishing Company, Limited, at the wish of King Edward VII in 1905–6, contained for the most part a selection from the best-known pictures at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. There remained, however, a considerable number of paintings, chiefly those collected by H.R.H. the Prince Consort, which were practically unknown, and the interest of which, if of secondary importance from the highest point of artistic value, was not inconsiderable for students and connoisseurs. Permission was therefore granted by the King to the Surveyor of Pictures and Works of Art to publish a series of notes on such pictures or works of art as might seem worthy of notice, and that these notes should appear in the *Burlington Magazine*. His Majesty King George V has been graciously pleased to continue the same privilege as that accorded by his illustrious father. These "Notes" have been extended to some of the less-known paintings at Hampton Court Palace and elsewhere, and sufficient interest has been shown by the readers of the *Burlington Magazine* to justify the directors of the Magazine in reissuing in a separate volume, as a first instalment, the notes which had appeared since the commencement of the series in 1904. With the further gracious permission of H.M. the King the articles have therefore been collected and revised where necessary, and entrusted for publication to Messrs. Chatto and Windus, on behalf of the *Burlington Magazine*. The compiler's own notes have in many cases been but introductory to valuable contributions by some of the leading art-students in Europe.

LIONEL CUST.

WINDSOR, *May* 1911.

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NOTES ON PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

I

H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT AS AN ART COLLECTOR

THE extent and value of the royal collections or pictures and other works of art is known to all connoisseurs. The accession of King Edward VII. after the long and happy reign of Queen Victoria was of necessity a reason for a complete rearrangement of the royal residences, which had undergone little change during the last forty years of Queen Victoria's reign. Many works of art, which had remained secluded through the pressure of other pictures and objects which were of greater personal interest to Queen Victoria and the royal family, now resumed their place among the treasures, not only owned, but thoroughly appreciated by the King. The interval since the last rearrangement of the royal collections had been so long that many pictures, much of the armour, china, furniture, &c., now brought forward seemed like new discoveries to those who were privileged to examine them.

It was well known that many pictures from the original collection of Charles I. still survived, including some which dated from the reign of Henry VIII. The important additions made by Frederick, Prince of Wales, and in his earlier years by George III., were, if little known, by no means new discoveries. The extraordinary good fortune which enabled George IV. to acquire so many art treasures from France after the *dégringolade* of the French royal house and the nobility had been long notorious, and only to be compared with that good fortune which led to the formation of the now world-famous Wallace collection. Few persons were, however, aware of the nature and value of certain collections of pictures formed in the early days of his married life by H.R.H. the Prince Consort, and treasured by Queen Victoria, partly at Buckingham Palace and partly at Osborne House. When most of these pictures were removed by command of King Edward VII. from Osborne to Buckingham Palace, the collections formed by H.R.H. Prince Albert were found to supplement the existing royal collection in many unusual and particularly interesting ways.

It is now a commonplace for the English nation to look upon the late Prince Consort as one who not only loved art for its own sake, but sought to apply it in every way possible to the improvement of the homes and manufactures of the country into which he had been adopted.

As a youth Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg had been brought up in that peculiar atmosphere of archaic tendencies and national aspirations which portended the eventual birth of Germany as a united country.

Goethe, in the second part of his immortal *Faust*, has striven to depict the blending of the pure classical ideal of beauty with the romantic chivalry of the Middle Ages. From the union of Helen with Faust is born Euphorion, in whom the perfect idea of beauty was to be revealed. But even Goethe realised how frail and evanescent was this creation, and Euphorion vanishes like an iridescent bubble, leaving nothing but his raiment and a soundless lyre to record his existence.

It was on such ideas that the young prince's mind was nurtured, though the surrounding atmosphere was chilly and insincere. Swayed from time to time by the frigid classicalism of Carstens, the equally frigid religious effusions of Overbeck and the other "Nazarenes," the ponderous stage heroics of Cornelius and the Munich school, the vacuous if forcible illustrations of Retzch, or the elfish anecdotage of Moritz von Schwind, it is not surprising that the ideas which took form in the young prince's brain far exceeded in number and importance the actual achievements which he was able to carry through during his short and useful life.

With his mind thus imbued with a strenuous devotion to the religious aspect of art, as well as with the enthusiasm derived from a close study of the legendary history of the German race, Prince Albert came to England to woo and to wed the young queen. If Germany was in 1840 an unpromising soil for the development of art, England was even worse, and certainly far less impressionable. Art was at its lowest ebb—painting, sculpture, architecture alike ; and self-complacent mediocrity was the order of the day.

In spite of his numberless high qualities, the purity of his life, the disinterestedness of his intentions, and the perfect love and accord between the queen and her chosen husband, the prince met with a somewhat chilly reception in England. A young and ardent prince, whose intellect was vaunted as above the average, and whose devotion to duty was at once apparent, was feared and mistrusted by the representatives of officialism in England. During the twenty years of his life in England it was chiefly through the domain of art that Prince Albert was at last able to reach the heart of the English people.

Unluckily, the instruments ready to hand were for the most part unfitted or unready to carry out the great ideas which the prince's fertile brain conceived. The famous Fine Arts Commission did little more than reveal the nakedness of the land, and the almost complete absence of artistic inspiration in those who were recognised as the nation's leaders and advisers in that domain.

The great scheme which resulted in the International Exhibition of 1851 was the progenitor of results which perhaps its originator, Prince Albert, could hardly have hoped to foresee. But these results were mainly industrial rather than artistic, and Germany has profited by them more than England.

One result, however, was of the highest importance, if somewhat slow of development. The fine arts as shown in the great glass palace in Hyde Park were seen in their most pretentious, artificial, and generally decayed form. Not a country in Europe could show a genuine national spirit in art. The second exhibition in 1862 showed but little advance. To the revolt, however, of the true artistic spirit against the horrors of 1851 may perhaps be attributed the steady, if laborious, renascence of the

arts which is still in progress at the present day. When passing these strictures upon the artistic output of the years 1840–70, it should be remembered that, if the design was in most cases atrocious, the actual workmanship was usually of the highest quality. The modern art furnisher and decorator who degrades the name of art by applying it to his wares could learn many a lesson if he chose from the craftsmen of the much-abused early Victorian period.

It was not unnatural that Prince Albert during the early years of his married life should have looked to his German advisers for guidance in those theories of art and design which he had so ardently at heart. It was not that the art professors in Germany were of so high a quality, but that in England they were practically non-existent. When the prince sought for his allies in England he could find little to help him beyond the superficial and obsequious officialism of a Sir Charles Eastlake and the bourgeois and bustling energy of a Sir Henry Cole, both of whom, however, proved most useful instruments in the prince's hands.

One of Prince Albert's earliest advisers and tutors in art was Professor Ludwig Gruner of Dresden. It would be out of place here to enter into any account of the influence of Professor Gruner on the arts of design in England, so completely have the principles of his artistic theories become a relic of the past. It will be sufficient to say that even where, as in Buckingham Palace, Gruner's decorative designs appear distasteful to those who live at the beginning of the twentieth century, the workmanship was always good, and offers a strong contrast to much of the cheaper and more meretricious achievements of those who dabbled at the close of the nineteenth century in the so-called "Queen Anne" style, or the sham revival of the *ancien régime*.

Under such a guide as Gruner the young prince could make a good start, and it is interesting to find that it was Gruner who assisted the prince to form the small collection of paintings by the old masters to which allusion has already been made. The collections thus made consist chiefly of works of primitive artists of North Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. They are the more remarkable because the public mind had hardly yet begun to realise that there were any pictures worth collecting or studying other than the works of the time-honoured masters of the later Italian and the Dutch and Flemish schools. Even Velazquez was not rated higher than Guido Reni, and the works of Van Eyck, Memlinc, Albrecht Dürer, and Cranach, were, if seen at all, viewed with a kind of amusement, looked upon as curiosities, and generally classed together as "Gothic." The pioneer work of Sir Henry Layard and Mrs. Higford Burr had not yet opened the eyes of the British tourist to the beauty and interest of the fresco-paintings by the early painters of Northern and Central Italy. The Arundel Society was yet to come with its powerful influence in stimulating the interest of the average educated person in the works of the so-called "Gothic" period. The trumpet-call of John Ruskin had not yet brought down the walls of British ignorance and prejudice, and William Morris had not yet left the realm of poesy for the more prosaic but more important duty of reforming the domestic furniture and general decorative aspect of the British home. Even France had not yet escaped from the depressing and stifling *bourgeoisie* of Louis Philippe into the footlights and extravaganzas of the Second Empire.

It is of particular interest, therefore, to find Prince Albert, loyally assisted by Her Majesty the Queen, acquiring in 1844 from a Mr. Nicholls a Lucretia by Lucas Cranach and a Salome, then attributed to Bernardino Luini, but probably an interesting work by Vincenzo Catena. In 1845 he obtained, on the advice of Professor Gruner, the

following paintings, which are of special interest at the present day : From Dr. Metzger, in Florence, an exquisite little painting of The Marriage of St. Catherine, attributed to Hans Memlinc ; an altarpiece by Duccio of Siena ; a small painting of The Marriage of the Virgin, by Agnolo Gaddi ; a large circular Madonna and Saints, attributed to Verrocchio ; a St. Peter Martyr, by Fra Angelico ; and other paintings attributed to Antonello da Messina, Giovanni Bellini, and Ambrogio Borgognone. In the same year was secured from the collection of the Duca di Melzi at Milan a large altarpiece attributed to Ambrogio Borgognone ; and from Signor della Bruna an interesting St. Jerome, then attributed to Perugino. In 1846 the prince obtained from Mr. Warner Ottley several important paintings, comprising a Madonna and Child, an authentic work by Gentile da Fabriano ; a splendid painting of S. Cosmo and S. Damiano, of the Pollaiuolo school, attributed perhaps rightly to Pesellino ; a small Judgment of Solomon, a genuine work by Benozzo Gozzoli ; a Coronation of the Virgin, attributed to Niccolo da Foligno ; and a Virgin and Child, attributed to the great Andrea Orcagna. In 1846 also the prince acquired from Mr. Nicholls a fine Portrait of a Nobleman, attributed to Giorgione, but probably the work of Moretto or Romanino of Brescia, and a first-rate Adam and Eve, by Lucas Cranach, from Mr. Campe in Nuremberg. In 1847 he added a few other Italian pictures to his collection, including a St. Sebastian, attributed to Mantegna.

In 1848 Prince Albert promoted another scheme for encouraging the study of primitive artists, this time for the most part of the schools of painting north of the Alps. A collection of Byzantine, early Italian, German and Flemish pictures had been formed by H.S.H. Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein. This collection was similar in character, if inferior in general quality, to the famous Boisserée collection, which now forms one of the principal ornaments of the picture gallery at Munich. Hearing that its owner was anxious to dispose of the collection, Prince Albert induced Prince Ludwig to send it to England for that purpose, and arranged for its exhibition in Kensington Palace, in the hope that sufficient enthusiasm might be excited to enable the collection to be purchased as a whole for the nation. The exhibition, however, proved a failure, for the British public had not yet divested itself of its faith in the super-eminent qualities of Raphael and of the Bolognese school ; and, accustomed as they were to large canvases and academical drawing, they could not understand the bright panels, however exquisitely painted, of the early Flemish masters, any more than they could at first comprehend the art of their own countryman Turner.

Eventually Prince Albert purchased the whole Oettingen-Wallerstein collection for his own, and placed it in Buckingham Palace. He never, however, abandoned his hope that some, at all events, of the paintings in the collection should find their way to the National Gallery. After the lamented death of the Prince Consort in 1861, the sorrowing Queen carried out his wish by offering to the National Gallery this collection to select such pictures as the board of trustees might care to have. About twenty pictures were selected for the National Gallery, and the remainder hung practically unknown in Buckingham Palace until the accession of King Edward VII.

If it were the case that the National Gallery had a free hand in selecting from this collection, it is much to be regretted that the choice did not rest in more sympathetic hands than those of Sir Charles Eastlake as Director of the National

Gallery. It must be conceded that the value of the collection had been over-estimated, for few of the seventy or eighty pictures were of the first class, and many had suffered grievously by repainting. Still, modern criticism has shown that there remain at Buckingham Palace a few pictures of special interest, notably a Coronation of the Virgin, in which has been recognised an important work, or contemporary copy of a lost work, by Hugo van der Goes. There are other paintings of the Bruges school by imitators of Roger van der Weyden and Gerard David, and some important examples of the schoolwork of Herri met de Bles. To these may be added two genuine works by Sano di Pietro and Palmezzano, a signed portrait by Michael Ostendorfer, and a portrait by Hans Baldung Grün, together with an important copy of a famous portrait of Christ with the legend of King Abgarus of Edessa, the original of which is preserved in the strictest seclusion at Genoa.

The last and most important acquisition made by Prince Albert was in July 1856, when, at the sale of the Earl of Orford's pictures at Christie's, he purchased for a very moderate sum a large triptych of the Virgin and Saints, then ascribed to Matthäus Grünewald, but now recognised as one of the most important works of Lucas Cranach the elder. As a Saxon prince Prince Albert would naturally feel an interest in the works of Lucas Cranach, with whom Saxon art is so closely identified. The name of Cranach could have been but little known in England, that of Grünewald still less. As this painting did not form part of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection, it is uncertain if the National Gallery was given the opportunity of possessing it. It can hardly be thought that even Sir Charles Eastlake would have neglected to secure what was on the face of it such an important monument of early German art.

During the last few years the study of the "primitive" painters of northern Europe has become one of the most interesting for the student and historian of art. For this a tribute must be paid to Mr. W. H. J. Weale, who laboured so hard during the so-called "Gothic" period to expound to an ungrateful public the importance and value of the early painters of Bruges and the neighbourhood. It is to Mr. Weale that the great painters of that school—the Van Eycks, Memlinc, Gerard David, and others—owe the final recognition of their pre-eminence in the history of painting. Mr. Weale's work has been taken up and continued by other workers, such as Dr. G. Hulin and M. Henri Hymans in Belgium, Dr. Max Friedländer and many others in Germany, and by the late M. Bouchot and M. Dimier in France, to say nothing of those who have tried to walk in Mr. Weale's footsteps in this country. The exhibition in 1902 at Bruges of the works of the early painters of the Netherlands, if it added little to the reputation of these great painters, whose fame was already established, revealed, at all events, the immense extent of the schools of painting, the artists of which it is important to localise and distinguish. It was also the starting-point for a number of important researches and discoveries, which have led to a better understanding and classification of the early Netherlandist painters.

The exhibition that was held in 1904 in Paris of the works by the "Primitifs Français" was a bold attempt to show that in France there existed an original school of artists, independent of the Netherlands. It is interesting to find that among the paintings of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection, purchased by Prince Albert, there is a painting in four compartments with the legend of St. Margaret, which has been recognised as belonging to the primitive French school.

Another exhibition subsequently held at Düsseldorf sought to ascertain the identities and works of the principal primitive artists of the Lower Rhine school, the so-called "Master of the Death of Mary," the Joost van Cleefs and other masters, whose figures are now vaguely discernible through their works. Here again in Prince Albert's collection are to be found paintings of this school, which will profit by the new light to be thrown on them.

It is hardly necessary to do more than allude to the far-reaching effect of that great exhibition of the works of Lucas Cranach and his school which was held at Dresden a few years ago.

Enough has been said to indicate the importance of the Prince Consort's private collections.

LIONEL CUST.

II

THE CRUCIFIXION, BY DUCCIO DA SIENA; THE MADONNA AND CHILD, BY SANO DI PIETRO

IN selecting certain pictures from the collection of H.R.H. Prince Albert, prominence has been given to two pictures of the Sienese school on account of the special interest lately taken in this school of painting through the exhibitions in 1905 of Sienese art at Siena itself and at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London.

In 1845 H.R.H. Prince Albert acquired from Dr. Metzger of Florence a very interesting triptych by Duccio di Buoninsegna, that great artist of original genius who may be regarded as the founder of the Sienese school. The triptych represents the Crucifixion in the centre with the Virgin Mary and St. John, and on each wing two subjects, one above the other, the right wing of the triptych containing above the Annunciation and below the Virgin Mary enthroned with four angels, and the left wing above St. Francis receiving the Stigmata and below the Virgin and Christ enthroned with six angels behind the throne.

This triptych is a particularly interesting specimen of Duccio's art, as it shows the artist at the stage when he had reached the fullness of his craft, but had not yet shaken off the Byzantine tradition in favour of the Gothic style, which pervades his later and more developed works. In this painting we see the austere devotion of the church as shown in its wall paintings and illuminated service books, and not the rich sculpturesque ornament and chasing, the smith's and carver's work, which prevailed so soon afterwards.

The second picture is one of less importance in every way, but is a fair illustration of Sienese art in its most highly developed convention. It formed part of the collection made by Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein. Sano di Pietro, the painter of this picture, can hardly claim to rank among the best painters, but as a painter of the Sienese school he is very typical of his time. In this painting the Virgin is seen at half-length with the Child in a curiously distorted position seated on her right arm. On either side of this group are seen heads, protruding in a peculiarly Sienese way from the side of the frame, of St. Jerome and St. Bernardine, and of six angels, the latter having a kind of special charm not uncommon in the works of Sienese artists.

The writer has been favoured with the following remarks by Mr. R. Langton Douglas upon the Duccio triptych. The painting by Duccio was lent by King Edward VII. to the exhibition of Sienese art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

LIONEL CUST.

The study of the achievement of Duccio di Buoninsegna reveals to us that there were three distinct periods in his artistic career. These periods may be styled his Byzantine period, his Roman period, his Gothic period; it being understood that in his second period he was still under Byzantine influence, and in the third period influenced by Byzantine and Roman masters, as well as by the leaders of the new movement in Italy.

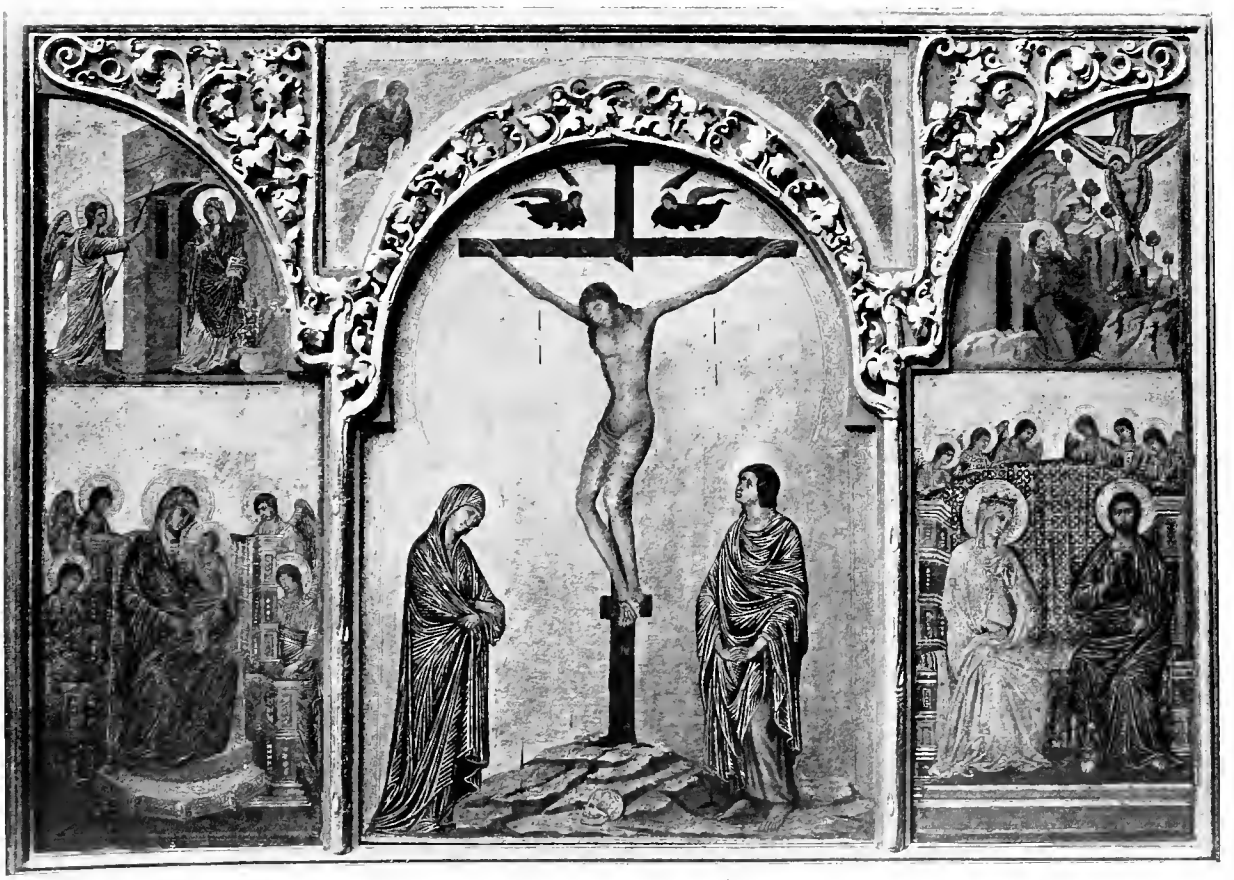
In the works of his first period the thrones, which are semi-oriental in design, are of turned wood and have a high foot-stool; the Virgin, too, is of a thoroughly Byzantine type. We note in the Madonnas of this his early time the large elliptical iris of the eye; the slanting mouth turned down at the corners; the long, arched nose; the curved, bony hands; the angular, and often purely calligraphic folds of the drapery. The Child, too, is small, and not of a pleasing type. To this period belong the little Madonna (No. 20) of the Siena Gallery, and the altarpiece of S. Maria Novella, long regarded as a work of Cimabue, as well as two other Madonnas —in which, however, no throne is visible—the triptych of our National Gallery, and the little Madonna in Count Stroganoff's collection.

In the paintings of Duccio's second period the thrones are of stone, and are of a Cosmatesque type; they are made of coloured marbles, and are adorned with panels of rich mosaic. In these pictures the iris of the eye is smaller than it is in Duccio's earliest works, the mouth straighter, the nose somewhat shorter and less arched; the hands, too, are less bony, and there is a marked improvement in the design and modelling of the drapery, which is arranged in broader, more natural folds. In the types represented, no less than in the garments which clothe them, we see the influence of Roman models. Dignified, well-formed figures take the place of the ascetic, melancholy forms of Byzantine art. The typical work of the second period is this triptych of the royal collection.

In the great altarpiece of Siena, the masterpiece of Duccio's third period, the throne is still of a Cosmatesque type, but it has some Gothic features. In several of the pictures of this period, such as the Christ healing the Blind Man in the National Gallery, and The Temptation in Mr. Benson's collection, there are representations of Gothic architecture. In the drapery, too, we find here and there traces of Gothic influence. The northern movement also reveals itself in the master's renderings of trees and animals. It is, however, in the expression of emotion that is to be found the one great difference between the works of Duccio's third period and all his earlier achievement. These later panels show that the new movement had affected the artist's whole conception of the subjects he painted. Compare, for example, the Crucifixion of the royal collection with the three existing Crucifixions of Duccio's last period, the Crucifixion of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's collection, the Crucifixion of the Opera del Duoma at Siena, and the Crucifixion belonging to Lord Crawford. In the first picture only two figures stand wrapt in mournful contemplation at the foot of the cross. The note of the representation is a recollected and dignified sorrow. In the three other panels we trace a growing intensity of expression, a gradual crescendo of passionate utterance. Swaying crowds of friends and foes stand below the Crucified. The Virgin falls back fainting with grief, whilst scribes and Pharisees mock, soldiers gesticulate, and angels weep.

Living in a city that for several years was the home of Giovanni Pisano,

MADONNA AND CHILD. BY SANO DI PIETRO. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE



SMALL ALTARPIECE. BY DUCCIO. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Duccio came to devote himself to the expression of strong emotion, to the presentation of the most dramatic moments in the great World Tragedy. The triptych of the royal collection demonstrates that there was a period in his career when his work had something of the calmness, the dignity of the antique. It is because this picture illustrates an epoch in Duccio's life that has been neglected, if not ignored —because it proves that the Sienese master was influenced by his great contemporaries of the neo-Roman school, that it is especially interesting to students of art history. But it has also qualities which will endear it to all who love beautiful things.

LANGTON DOUGLAS.

III

THE LIKENESS OF CHRIST

AMONG the more curious of the early paintings acquired by H.R.H. Prince Albert as part of the collection of Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein was a series of seventeenth-century copies of *icons* and other sacred pictures, probably executed by a Greek priest, Emmanuel Tzane, at Venice, about 1640.

One of these represents the Likeness of Christ, the Holy Kerchief or Mandilion, and is of special interest as being a copy, apparently fairly accurate, of the sacred portrait of Jesus Christ preserved in the chapel of the convent of San Bartolommeo degli Armeni at Genoa, now belonging to the Barnabite congregation, which purports to be the original portrait sent, according to the legend, by Christ Himself to Abgarus, King of Edessa.

These pages are not the place in which to reopen the discussion, which has been continued for centuries, upon the authenticity, or otherwise, of certain paintings or "stained cloths" which claim to bear the likeness of the Saviour of Mankind. It will be sufficient to note the various legends from which the traditions as to the portraits have been derived, and to try to distinguish them, since from the early days the various legends got so intermixed that a crop of new legends became easily produced. Much time and great industry and learning have been expended upon this subject. The present writer is indebted to Professor Ernst von Dobschütz, of Jena, for some valuable information as to the portraiture of Jesus Christ in general, and the portrait at Buckingham Palace in particular.

The different classes into which the reputed portraits of Jesus Christ fall can be stated roughly as follows :—

I. The portrait reputed to have been sent by Christ Himself to Abgarus, King of Edessa, by which the king was healed of a disease.

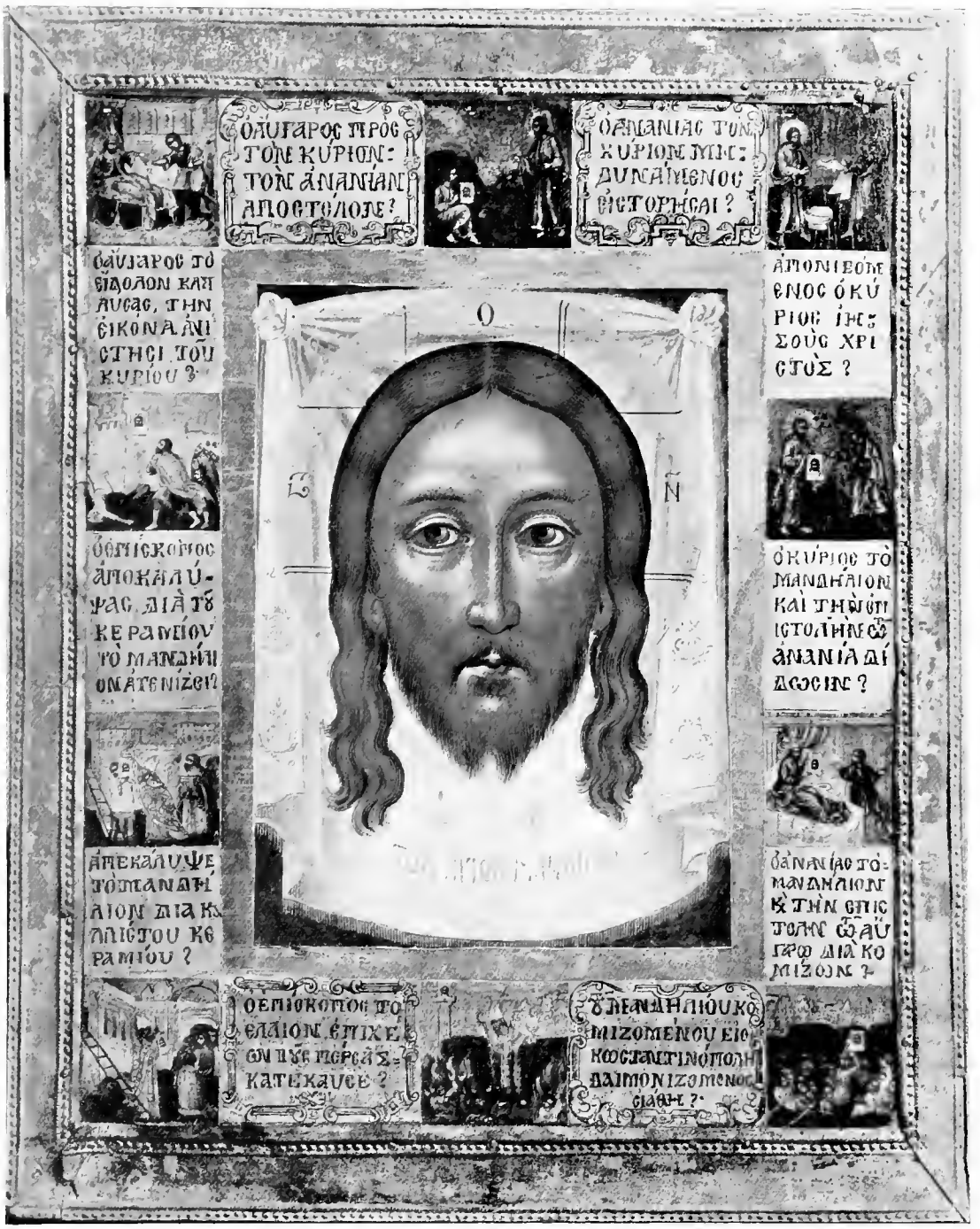
II. The likeness which, according to a legend, was imprinted on the cloth which was handed by St. Veronica to the Saviour to wipe the sweat from His face during the march to Calvary.

III. The likeness stated to have been miraculously transferred from the dead body of Jesus Christ to the shroud in which His body was wrapped at the Entombment.

It may be further noted that these three classes in their turn represent three different aspects of the Divine Face.

1. Living, in health ; the *Hagion Mandilion*, or Kerchief.
2. Living, but in agony and suffering ; the *Sudarium.*
3. Dead ; the *Shroud.*

It is with Class I. alone that these pages have to do. The details to be narrated by Professor von Dobschütz will give the history of the Abgarus legend, and its development from the mere despatch, after the Crucifixion, of Thaddeus, one of the disciples,



THE LIKENESS OF CHRIST. PROBABLY BY EMMANUEL TZANE. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

with a letter for Abgarus, to the discovery of the sacred portrait in the gate of Edessa and the miracles wrought by its presence; and also the subsequent history of the sacred portrait, from the time of its removal to Byzantium in 944 A.D. to its disappearance from thence during the French siege in 1204 A.D.

Three places, as Professor von Dobschütz shows, have claimed to be the resting-place of the sacred portrait from Edessa.

1. The Sainte Chapelle at Paris, where the holy relic was destroyed in the Revolution of 1789.

2. The church of San Silvestro in Capite at Rome, whence the holy relic was transferred for safety to the Vatican in 1870.

3. The church of San Bartolommeo at Genoa.

Of these the Paris example has perished, and both the portrait at Rome and that at Genoa are inaccessible to the student. It is therefore only from copies that the student can judge of the value and importance of these portraits as historical documents. Fortunately the artist Thomas Heaphy the younger, during the course of some careful investigations into the traditional authorities for the Likeness of Christ, obtained not only access to the sacred portraits in San Silvestro and at Genoa, but leave to copy them. Heaphy's original drawings were purchased in 1881 for the British Museum, where they are now preserved in the Print-room.

Heaphy's drawing from the Genoa portrait is of special interest, as it shows the portrait free from the ornamental frame superimposed, which is all that can be seen by the faithful on the occasion of the annual exhibition of the sacred relic.

This frame contains the series of ten little paintings in enamel, representing the story of King Abgarus and the portrait of Christ, which will be described by Professor von Dobschütz. It is the portrait, *within its frame*, which has been copied in oils at a later date, probably, as stated before, by Emmanuel Tzane at Venice, and which now hangs at Buckingham Palace.

LIONEL CUST.

One of the oldest legends of Christianity is the story of Abgarus (V. Ukhâmâ), prince of Edessa, who wrote requesting Jesus to come and heal him. As Jesus was unable to leave Palestine He promised to send to Abgarus one of His disciples after His ascension to Heaven. This promise was fulfilled when Thaddeus, one of the seventy, at the bidding of the apostle Thomas, came to Edessa and cured Abgarus, who was then baptized together with all his people. This is the version of the legend as told by Eusebius (about A.D. 325), who is the first writer who refers to this story, which probably originated in the third century, when Abgarus IX., a descendant of the above, and his family became Christians.

As may be seen, there is no mention of a portrait of Christ in this the earliest form of the story. And, in fact, the legend contains no reference to a miraculous portrait until the worship of pictures became customary in the Church.

It was in the time of the Emperor Justinian, 544 A.D., when the Persians laid siege to Edessa, that the existence of a picture was made known to the bishop by means of a revelation telling of a portrait, miraculously produced by Christ Himself and sent to King Abgarus, which had been concealed in the wall over the gate of the city at the time of a persecution of the Christians in the days of the son of Abgarus. Thus recovered, the miraculous portrait of Christ helped to destroy the enemy and obtained a great reputation

even among the Persians. It was considered the most sacred relic, the palladium, of Edessa, until in 944 A.D. the Byzantines took advantage of the decline of the caliphate, and under certain conditions got possession of the holy Likeness of Christ, together with His autograph letter to King Abgarus, and thus these two most precious relics were added to the famous collection in the royal chapel in the palace of Bukoleon.

The conveyance of this relic from Edessa to the capital was a notable event to the whole empire. Splendid was its reception in the town, the entire royal court taking part in the magnificent procession which conducted the Lord's portrait from the Golden Gate by the usual *via triumphalis* to the Hagia Sophia and afterwards to the palace chapel. We owe the minute description of these facts to a sermon which the learned Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos himself delivered, probably on August 16, 945 A.D., the next anniversary of the entrance of the holy portrait.[1] The Holy Mandilion —*i.e.* "Kerchief," as it was commonly called at Byzantium—was thus preserved in the royal chapel at the palace of Bukoleon as one of the most precious relics until, in 1204 A.D., it disappeared in the turmoil of the French invasion.

From that time three places claim the right of possessing the original picture. The Sainte Chapelle at Paris, erected in 1252 A.D. by King Saint Louis IX. for the special purpose of safeguarding the relics acquired from Constantinople, seemed to many to have the best foundation for its claim. Unfortunately the greater part of this important collection, including the "Sainte Face," as it was called there, was destroyed in the Revolution of 1789. Another copy, said to be the original, was for many centuries in the well-known church of San Silvestro in Capite at Rome, but was transferred in 1870 for safety to the Vatican Palace, where it is now preserved in the private chapel of the Pope. The third is at Genoa, in the chapel of the convent of San Bartolommeo degli Armeni, belonging now to the congregation of the Barnabites. Both are almost inaccessible to art students.

I owe some information about the Roman picture to the kindness of Dr. Lapponi, physician to Pope Leo X. Its size, including a large silver frame, is 1 ft. 8 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins. The frame, which is very heavy and adorned by precious stones, was made in 1623 A.D. by Sordinora Larutia. It covers the greater part of the picture, leaving free only the face, which is as large as life, and about 10 ins. by 7 ins. in size. Painted on dark ground and covered by glass, the face is by no means easily distinguished. With the help of electric light Dr. Lapponi succeeded in making out that it is a fine work of art: the eyes are open, with thin chestnut brows; the forehead is broad, the nose long and straight, the mouth small and surrounded by a moustache and a beard.

For the present one may obtain some idea of the original by studying a copy preserved in the museum at Treves, or the drawing by Heaphy which is reproduced here. Another copy can be seen in Wilhelm Grimm's remarkable treatise, *The Legends of the Origin of the Likenesses of Christ* (Berlin, 1872). Grimm designates a certain number of pictures as copies from the Genoese. But, as I have proved elsewhere, he is wrong in doing so as regards the little picture in the University Library of Jena. And his proposition is disproved also in the case of his own copy by the picture at Treves. The two faces being nearly identical, the inscription surrounding the latter must be true also

[1] This sermon is published, together with plenty of other sources, in my book on the *Likenesses of Christ*, where the reader will find full information about this and other miraculous portraits of our Saviour. (E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*. 1899. Leipzig: Henrichs, Vol. III. of "Texte und Untersuchungen," New Series.)

THE SAN SILVESTRO PORTRAIT, NOW IN THE VATICAN

THE PORTRAIT AT GENOA

COPIES OF THE SACRED PORTRAIT AT ROME AND GENOA, FROM THE DRAWINGS OF THOMAS HEAPHY THE YOUNGER, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

for Grimm's picture, and this inscription runs as follows :—" A Likeness of Our Saviour Jesus Christ : being a copy of that one which he sent to Abagarus (*sic!*), which is preserved at Rome in the monastery of St. Silvester."

The Genoese picture, Heaphy's drawing of which is also reproduced, is in a shrine which cannot be opened except with eight keys in possession of eight different magistrates and noble families. Like the Veronica of Saint Peter at Rome, it is shown publicly only once a year, on Ascension Day. As we have noticed already in the case of the Roman picture, only a small part of the original painting is visible, all the rest being covered by a silver plate, as is the custom with Byzantine and Russian sacred images. What can be seen is a face of very dark colour, almost as dark, in fact, as the Roman picture described just above ; the large open eyes, the straight nose, the somewhat austere mouth, do not correspond to our ideal of beauty, kindness, or loveliness ; it is the severe Byzantine type, expressing divine majesty rather than love and humility. The impression, it is true, suffers from the curious shape of the incasing plate, which defines three unequal points of the beard. The plate is highly ornamented in silver filigree, together with three little golden pieces of different design, which constitute a cruciform nimbus. In the upper corners the name ΙΣ̄ ΧΣ̄ (Jesus Christ) is inscribed, and the popular name ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΝΔΗΔΙΟΝ is written underneath it.

The most important features are ten little square enamel paintings, set in the border of the silver plate, bearing each an inscription in bad Greek characters. Commencing at the upper left-hand corner and following to the right to the fifth square, then recommencing on the left side under the first and ending at the lower right-hand corner, they represent the legend of the holy Likeness of Christ in the form given by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos as above mentioned. First we see King Abgarus lying on his bed of sickness giving his servant a letter to be brought to Christ. The second shows the messenger endeavouring to paint a portrait of Christ, who stands before him. In the third Christ is offered a napkin to moisten His face. The fourth represents Christ giving the napkin imprinted with His likeness to the messenger. Then follows the fifth, showing Abgarus sitting on his couch, holding with both hands the imprinted napkin towards him, while the messenger relates the miraculous origin of the picture. When we turn to the left, we see on the sixth Abgarus, followed by his servant, throwing down from one pillar the idol which has been erected on the top of the gate, and putting up on the other pillar the Likeness of Christ. In the seventh square the picture is hidden by the bishop, who climbs to the top of the pillar by means of a ladder, holding a large tile to cover the niche. Number eight shows the bishop who rediscovered the portrait fetching it down from the pillar, while his acolyte stands waiting. In the ninth the bishop throws oil out of the vessel which stood before the holy Face into the flames in which the Persians perish. The tenth gives a scene from the transfer of the picture from Edessa to Constantinople : at the crossing of the Euphrates the ship bearing the clergy and the holy Likeness passes without helm or oars ; the man who stands on the river bank one would assume to be a representative of the people of Edessa, who are distressed by the loss of the sacred palladium of their city, were it not indicated by the inscription that he represents a demoniac, who is healed by the sight of the holy Face, two scenes thus being joined in this one square.

The mode of representation in these little pictures, by simple indication of the chief figures and action, reminds one of ancient Christian art as preserved in the Byzantine examples and up to the later part of the Middle Ages.

It may be that this series was created by an artist soon after 944 A.D. We have, however, no evidence that the Genoese picture and the decoration of the frame are not of a later origin. Unfortunately, there is no means of ascertaining whether or not the same little pictures are painted on the wood tablet now covered by the silver frame.

Now there is a picture, very different at the first glance, but representing the same subject, which hangs outside the Royal Chapel at Buckingham Palace. It belonged formerly to the collection of Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein, and was purchased by the Prince Consort.

It is an oil-painting on cedar wood with dimensions of 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 1 ft. $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. Like the Genoese picture, there is a centrepiece ($8\frac{1}{5}$ ins. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) showing the Head of Christ, and around this a series of ten little square pictures ($1\frac{1}{5}$ ins. by 2 ins. each) representing the same ten scenes of the legend. Remarkable as is the similarity of the whole arrangement, yet the details show marked individuality of treatment, both in regard to the centre picture and the little square paintings.

In the centre there is a Head of Christ imprinted on a white kerchief in marvellously draped folds with two knots in the two upper corners, embroidered with gold ornaments and the letters ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΜΑΝΔΗΔΙΟ (*sic*: the first Ν should be at the end, *cf.* above). A halo surrounds the head bearing the letters Ω°Ν (I am) in cruciform. The face, in brilliant colouring, is of long oval shape, with locks hanging from each side, the pointed beard being parted under the chin. The impression produced by these large eyes, the long very small nose, the closed mouth, is similar to that of the Genoese picture, and yet it is somewhat different. It is the refined Western art of a later period instead of the old Byzantine type, but used to reproduce a Byzantine original.

This is still more perceptible when we turn to the little square pictures. Comparing the two reproductions, we find that though the contents are the same yet the dress (especially that of the bishop and his acolyte), the postures, and the architectural background show exactly the difference between old Byzantine art and the manner of Italian art of the seventeenth century. This is proved also by the inscriptions which are here given in large artificial characters filling the whole space between the pictures and closely resembling, as Waagen remarks, those found on paintings of Emmanuel Tzane, a Greek priest who lived at Venice about 1640 A.D. As I am informed by Dr. Ludwig, who had the opportunity of comparing paintings of this artist at Venice, it is highly probable that he was, in fact, the artist who painted this Mandilion. Many mistakes in the Greek spelling seem to prove that the artist was not versed in this language. The beginning of the seventeenth century is suggested further by the ornaments which surround the upper and the lower inscriptions.

From this comparison we must conclude that the picture at Buckingham Palace is a Western copy of an old Byzantine Mandilion, of the type of the Genoese picture, if not of this very painting itself. The differences, however apparent, do not disprove this conclusion. It is not a copy in the true sense of the word, but a reproduction of what in the copyist's mind was to be represented. The seventeenth-century men had not the historical sense of our time, which aims at exactness; they were always inclined to embellish according to their own taste.

Of special importance is the conception of the centre picture as a draped cloth. The Likeness transferred in 944 A.D. to Constantinople was—as proved distinctly by the sermon—a tablet picture. It is said that Abgarus had it stretched on a wooden tablet

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2

3

MINIATURES ILLUSTRATING THE LEGEND OF ABGARUS; THE FIRST TWO FROM A MS. OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY AT MOSCOW, THE THIRD FROM A MS. OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY AT PARIS

and covered with gold. But the artists who had the task of reproducing it did not copy the original itself, which was inaccessible in the relic treasury, but adopted the idea of a cloth with the imprinted face thereon. On the walls of many Eastern churches one may see the Holy Mandilion represented as a draped kerchief, at times held by two angels, like the Veronica of Western art.[1]

If any one hesitates to admit this conclusion that the picture in the Buckingham Palace chapel is derived from the Genoese picture, or a closely related one, let him compare the following series of Byzantine miniatures, which I owe to Professor Redin of Charkow. They are taken from a manuscript at Moscow written in the eleventh century, which contains a collection of sermons for the month of August, made by the famous Symeon Metaphrastes, and among these is the sermon of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos on the legend of Abgarus mentioned above. At the beginning there are four little square pictures to illustrate the following narrative, three thereof filling the end of the first column, the fourth standing at the top of the second: (1) Abgarus, in royal dress, lying on his bed of sickness, sends a messenger to Christ to come and heal him; (2) Christ, seated, dressed in violet, with golden halo, writes a letter to Abgarus, whose messenger stands before Him, his hands crossed reverently over his breast; (3) Christ, dressed as before, sitting on a folding-chair, the disciples standing behind Him, sends back the messenger after giving him the Likeness—this is represented as a Face on a golden ground; (4) by the sight of the Likeness brought by his messenger Abgarus (dressed as above) is healed and starts to his feet to adore it and to be baptized. The Mandilion is here represented as a white kerchief with red band below, showing the Face of Christ in a golden halo. From the man's way of handling it we may conclude that it was fixed loosely on a framework.

Although at the first glance this series seems to be but a shortened form of the two former, a diligent inquirer will soon find out that there is a great difference. Only the first and the last pictures have some correspondence with the first and the fifth of the former series: even here there is some difference, for it is not by touching the Likeness but by seeing it that Abgarus is healed. Of Christ writing the letter to Abgarus, a remarkable feature, represented in our second picture, there is no mention at all in the greater series which, instead of it, introduces two scenes of the miraculous origin of the Likeness. Also the third differs from the corresponding fourth of the former series by laying stress, not so much on the respectful reception of the Likeness by the messenger, as on Christ sending him back. All the rest which deals with the miraculous story of the Mandilion is wanting. Thus we may see that this smaller series is conceived by an artist independently of the former on quite other principles; at the same time we will allow, without reserve, the dependence of the Buckingham Palace series on the Genoese.

Last of all, there is one miniature in a Paris manuscript containing the same collection of sermons, but written about a century later than the Moscow manuscript. Here we have represented only Abgarus baptized by the apostle Thaddeus. It is curious enough that there is no representation from the legend of the Holy Likeness, although the following sermon deals entirely with the miraculous subjects, the painter in other cases following the same method of illustrating a legend by a series of little square pictures as his earlier colleague. But he makes up for this loss by the way in which he

[1] The author is indebted to Professor Gelzer of Jena for kind information on the churches of Mount Athos; *cf.* also H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos Klostern*, pp. 76–78.

executes this single painting. It is one of the finest works of Byzantine art, much more resembling classical models than all the others we have considered. While the Genoese enamels show the typical style of the stiff Byzantinism, and the Moscow miniatures show its inclination for splendour and richness, this Paris picture is a noble example of Byzantine renaissance with its fine simple and expressive mode of representation.

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

CENTRAL PANEL OF THE QUARATESI ALTARPIECE BY GENTILE DA FABRIANO, IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

IV

THE QUARATESI ALTARPIECE BY GENTILE DA FABRIANO

AMONG the paintings of the early Italian school which were purchased by H.R.H. Prince Albert, there is a fine upright panel-painting in a Gothic frame, rightly ascribed to Gentile da Fabriano. This painting was purchased by Prince Albert from Mr. Warner Ottley in 1846.

The importance of this painting as a genuine work of Gentile da Fabriano must be evident to all students of art, in view of the small number of Gentile's paintings that have come down to us, and the important influence exercised by him on the painting of northern Italy. Important as the painting is in itself, both its artistic and its historical value are immensely increased by the facts concerning the painting, which were kindly put together by Mr. Herbert P. Horne and placed by him at the service of *The Burlington Magazine*. It was apparent then that the painting now at Buckingham Palace is the missing centre panel of the once five-leaved altarpiece of which four leaves, now joined together, with figures of saints are now in the Uffizii Gallery at Florence.

The discovery of this important painting was an event of capital importance in the history of Florentine art. The genuine works of Gentile da Fabriano are so rare that any addition to them must be welcomed by all lovers of art. The fact that Gentile had painted an altarpiece for the Quaratesi family in the church of S. Niccolò, near the S. Miniato gate in Florence, had been well known since the days of Vasari himself, who in 1568 wrote, "Ed in S. Niccolò alla porta a S. Miniato per la famiglia Quaratesi fere la tavola dell' altar maggiore, che di quante cosa ho veduto di mano di costui a me senza dubbio pere la migliore; perchè oltre alla nostra Donna e Molti Santi che le sono intorno tutto ben fatti, la predella di detta tavola piena di storie della vita di S. Niccolò di figure piccole non puo essere più bella nè meglio fatto di quello che ell'è."

The picture hung above the high altar of the church of S. Niccolò. From the *Sepoltuario Fiorentino* of Stefano Rosselli, compiled in 1657, and alluding to a previous *Sepoltuario* of 1580, it appears that the choir, altar, and sepulchre were erected by Bernardino Quaratesi, Prior of Florence on more than one occasion and *Gonfaloniere* or chief magistrate in 1519, in which year Pope Martin V. made a solemn entry into Florence. It must have been in memory of this high official dignity that Bernardino restored and decorated the church of S. Niccolò. Giovani Cinelli, in his *Bellezze di Firenze*, published in 1677, speaks of Gentile's picture as being in the choir (*nel coro*), and the high altar over which it was originally placed probably stood within the choir. The picture remained in the church for many years to come. It was hanging there in 1762, when G. Richa completed his *Notizie delle*

Chiese Fiorentine, and appears to have been there in 1824, when Luigi Biadi published his *Notizie sulle Antiche Fabbriche di Firenze non terminate*.

By the time, however, that Le Monnier published his edition of Vasari's *Lives* in 1832–38, a number of changes had taken place in the world of art at Florence. Many pictures had disappeared from churches, and among the paintings which were no longer to be found were the centre panel of the Virgin and Child and the predella belonging to the great Quaratesi altarpiece by Gentile da Fabriano. The four saints remained joined together as if forming the complete picture, and continued to hang in the church of S. Niccolò until 1879, when the altarpiece, as it stood, was presented by the then representative of the Quaratesi family to the Picture Gallery of the Uffizii. The four saints thus represented in a meaningless row are St. Mary Magdalene, St. Nicholas, St. John the Baptist, and St. George.

According to Richa the frame bore the inscription—

"Opus Gentilis de Fabriano MCCCCXXV. mense Maii."

The date of 1425 shows that it was painted after the painter's return to Florence from Venice, and two years after the famous Adoration of the Kings in the Accademia at Florence. It is noteworthy that Pope Martin V., whose entry into Florence in 1419 took place when Bernardino Quaratesi was *gonfaloniere*, took the painter, Gentile da Fabriano, under his special patronage, and eventually summoned him to Rome, where he painted the frescoes in the church of St. John Lateran, which excited the admiration of no less a person than Rogier Van der Weyden. It is difficult to believe that the connexion of the painter with the *gonfaloniere* Quaratesi on the one hand and the Pope on the other was due to mere casual reasons.

For a long time, as stated, for instance, by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their *History of Painting in Italy*, published in 1866, it was supposed that the missing centre panel was that in the possession of Mr. Jarves, an American gentleman, formerly residing in Florence, and now of Yale College, Newhaven, U.S.A. The existence of the panel, which was purchased by Prince Albert, was unknown until the paintings forming Prince Albert's collection were removed by command of King Edward VII. from Osborne House to Buckingham Palace in 1901. Dr. Waagen had noted the picture as being in the collection of Mr. William Young Ottley in 1835, but it was not generally known that his nephew, Mr. Warner Ottley, had sold the picture to Prince Albert in 1846. It needed but a comparison of the Osborne panel, even in a photograph, with the Four Saints at Florence to show that in the Osborne panel this lost portion of the Quaratesi altarpiece had been discovered. The five small paintings of the predella, representing scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, have not yet been traced, although they are probably still to be discovered in some private collection. A restoration of the altarpiece, showing the centre panel in its original position, was published in the *Rivista d'Arte* for September 1905. By special permission of King Edward VII. a careful copy of the Virgin and Child was made by the Hon. Mrs. Carpenter, who presented it to the Director of the Uffizii, by whom it was accepted with the intention of the copy being placed in such a way as to show the original constitution of the altarpiece.

LIONEL CUST.

PAINTINGS OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, ST. NICHOLAS, ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. GEORGE, FROM THE QUARATESI ALTARPIECE BY GENTILE DA FABRIANO; NOW IN THE UFFIZII GALLERY, FLORENCE

THE COMPLETE ALTARPIECE AS DESIGNED FOR THE QUARATESI CHAPEL IN THE CHURCH OF S. NICCOLÒ (1425)

V

THE STORY OF SIMON MAGUS, PART OF A PREDELLA PAINTING BY BENOZZO GOZZOLI

AMONG the early Italian paintings purchased in 1846 by H.R.H. Prince Albert from Mr. Warner Ottley was a small picture, representing the story of Simon Magus, painted on panel, measuring 9½ ins. high by 14 ins. wide, and attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli. On examining this interesting little picture it seemed evident that this ascription was correct, and it has been further corroborated by such competent critics as Sir Claude Phillips and Mr. Roger Fry.

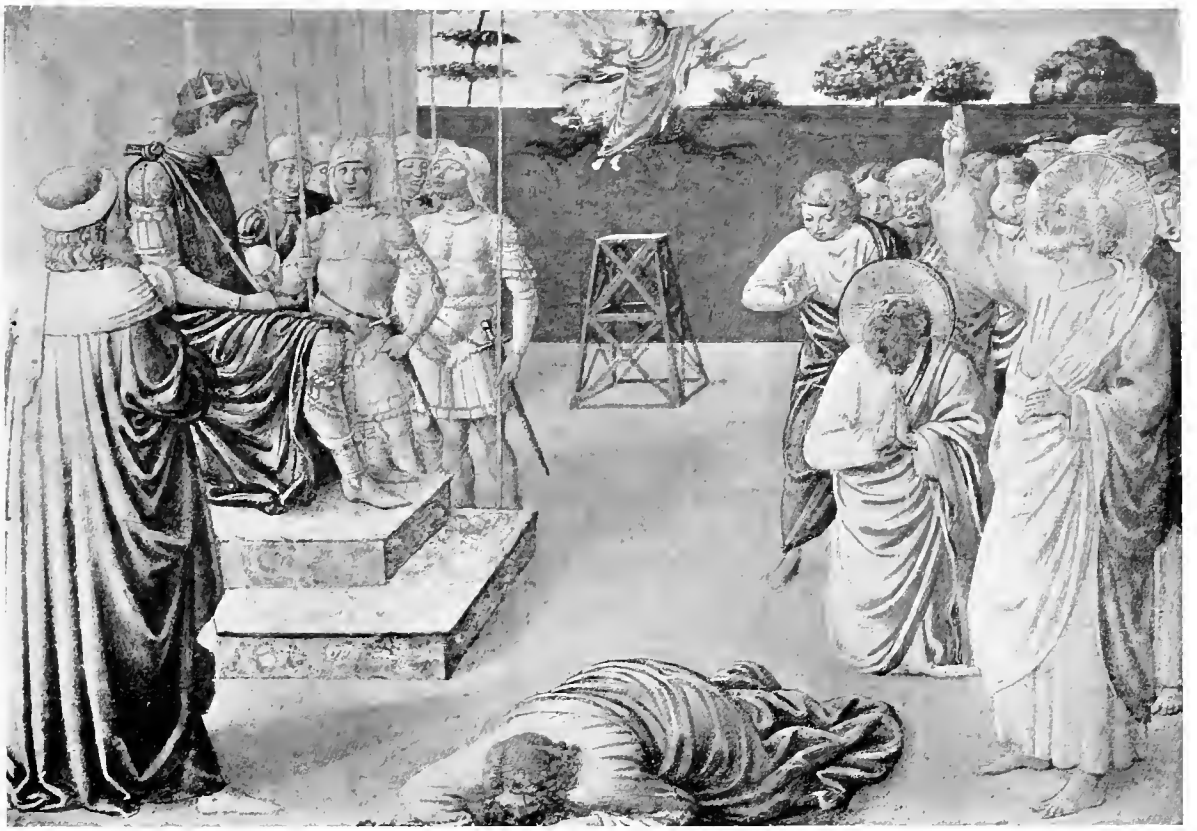
Subsequently the researches of Mr. Herbert P. Horne, at Florence, threw a clear light upon the history of this painting, and showed that the Story of Simon Magus, together with that representing the miracle of St. Zenobius formerly in the collection of the late M. Rodolphe Kann at Paris, and that representing the miracle of St. Dominic now in the Brera Gallery at Milan, formed part of the predella of the great altarpiece painted for the Confraternity of the Purification of the Virgin and of St. Zenobius at Florence, by agreement dated October 23, 1461. The principal portion of this altarpiece, representing the Madonna enthroned, with St. John the Baptist, St. Zenobius and St. Jerome (kneeling) on one side, and St. Peter, St. Dominic, and St. Francis (kneeling) on the other, after some vicissitudes, was purchased in 1855 for the National Gallery. In the catalogue of that gallery it is described as having been painted for the Compagnia of San Marco, a name by which the Confraternity was commonly called in ancient times, because it was then the only company which met in St. Mark's Church at Florence.

In the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, No. 1, pp. 1–12, Signor Corrado Ricci, now Director of Fine Arts at Rome, published an article, in which he suggested that the panel of S. Zenobio in the Kann collection, and that of S. Domenico at Milan, formed part of the predella of the altarpiece which Benozzo painted for the Compagnia della Purificazione della Vergine at Florence in 1461. In that article he printed the agreement, which had already been published before, by which Benozzo undertook to paint the altarpiece for the oratory of the said Confraternity. Giuseppe Richa, in his *Notizie delle Chiese Fiorentine*, vol. v., 1757, relates how the oratory of the Confraternity of the Purification of the Virgin and of S. Zenobio originally stood close to the church of the monastery of S. Marco at Florence, but the Dominican monks of S. Marco, wishing to enlarge their precincts, induced the Confraternity to remove to a new oratory in the Via San Gallo, erected by the Dominicans in lieu of the old, to which the Confraternity removed in 1506. Nearly two hundred years later, in 1690, a certain musician, named Domenico di Santi Melani, founded a Hospital for Pilgrims, called L'Ospizio del Melani, or dei Pellegrini, with which was incorporated the oratory of the aforesaid Confraternity, the members of which, in accordance with Melani's

will, became the patrons and administrators of the hospital. When Richa published his notice in 1757, there was hanging on the walls of the refectory in their oratory the altarpiece by Benozzo.

By the agreement between the Confraternity and Benozzo in 1461, the latter was to paint in the principal panel "the figure of Our Lady, with the throne, in the manner and form of, and with ornaments similar to, the picture of the High Altar at San Marco," which was the work of Benozzo's master, Fra Angelico. On the dexter side of the central figure he was to paint figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Zenobio, with St. Jerome kneeling; and on the sinister, figures of St. Peter and St. Dominic, with St. Francis kneeling; and further, Benozzo was to paint with his own hand, below, at the foot of the altar, the stories of the said saints, each one over against its proper saint. The documents relating to these transactions, which are preserved in the R. Archivio di Stato at Florence, were printed by Mr. Horne in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. vii. (1905), p. 382.

Not long after the publication of Richa's notice the Ospizio dei Pellegrini was broken up, and in 1775 the building was incorporated with the Palazzo Pucci, in the same street. The central panel, as described in the agreement, passed into the possession of the Rinuccini family, from which it was purchased in 1855 for the National Gallery. The small predella paintings were (as in so many other cases) dispersed. According to the agreement that Benozzo should paint the stories of each saint in the main picture, the predella should have consisted of paintings with scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, St. Zenobio, St. Peter, St. Dominic, St. Jerome, and St. Francis, with perhaps one scene from the life of the Virgin. Of these, three have now come to light. That formerly in the collection of M. Rodolphe Kann at Paris, subsequently purchased by M. Duveen, represents a scene from the life of St. Zenobio, where the saint is represented restoring to life the child of the noble Gaulish lady in the Borgo degli Albizzi at Florence. A second panel, formerly in the collection of the sculptor Achille Alberto, was purchased for the Brera Gallery in Milan in 1900; this represents a scene from the life of St. Dominic, where the saint is restoring to life the young Napoleone, who had been trampled to death by a white horse before the Dominican convent. A description of this painting will be found in the official catalogue of the Brera Gallery since 1908. It is a third panel from this predella which was purchased in 1846 by Prince Albert, and is now in the Picture Gallery at Buckingham Palace. This panel refers to the incident in the life of St. Peter connected with the story of Simon Magus. Simon, the sorcerer or magician, is alluded to in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. viii., as having imposed himself on the city of Samaria, as "that power of God which is called Great," but his having been converted and baptized by St. Philip. When St. Peter and St. John were sent to Samaria by the apostles to lay hands on the baptized and give the Holy Ghost, the said Simon offered them money in order to obtain the same power for himself, thus committing the sin which was afterwards known as Simony. The subsequent history of Simon Magus and his death, as shown in Benozzo's painting, is not recorded in the Acts, but is related in the *Lives of the Saints*, the story here related being given in full by Petrus de Natalibus, bishop of Equilio, in his *Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum* (Vicenza, 1493, vi. xxii.). According to this tale, Simon the magician managed to ingratiate himself into the favour of the Emperor Nero at Rome, where he exerted himself in active hostility against St. Peter, and later against St. Paul. Among the other incidents, Simon set on a



THE DEATH OF SIMON MAGUS. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Anderson

MIRACLE OF ST. DOMINIC. IN THE BRERA GALLERY, MILAN.

TWO PANELS FROM THE PREDELLA OF THE ALTARPIECE (NOW IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, NO. 283) PAINTED BY BENOZZO GOZZOLI FOR THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE PURIFICATION AND ST. ZENOBIUS AT FLORENCE

savage dog to attack St. Peter on his visit to the house of a disciple, Marcellus. At the sign of the cross the dog obeyed Peter, and attacked Simon himself, who was only saved from injury by Peter's intervention, and was driven in contumely from the city. Returning afterwards, and regaining the emperor's favour, Simon sought to prove his spiritual superiority to Peter and Paul by a miraculous ascent to heaven in the presence of the apostles themselves and before the emperor. By his magic arts Simon summoned two "angels of Satan" to bear him aloft, but the apostles then intervened, Paul by prayer and Peter by command, on which the evil spirits let Simon drop to the ground, where he perished with all his limbs broken.

It is this scene which is depicted with such vivacity by Benozzo in the painting at Buckingham Palace. The panels with scenes from the lives of St. John the Baptist, St. Jerome, and St. Francis, and probably one with the Annunciation of the Virgin, still remain to be discovered. The story of Simon Magus and the miracle of S. Zenobio occur again in a set of four predella paintings described by Crowe and Cavalcaselle as in the Casa Alessandri in Borgo degli Albizzi at Florence, and attributed by them tentatively to Benozzo Gozzoli, although the paintings are given by Vasari to Pesello.

LIONEL CUST.

VI

A GROUP OF TWO SAINTS, S. GIACOMO AND S. MAMANTE, PAINTED BY PESELLINO

AMONG the early Italian paintings acquired by H.R.H. Prince Albert in 1846 was a large upright painting on panel, representing two male saints, and ascribed to Pesellino. It was obtained from Mr. Warner Ottley, and had previously belonged to Mr. W. Young Ottley. The ascription to Pesellino seemed on the face of it to be quite correct, and the fact of its being but a fragment of a large picture was also manifest.

On a photograph being shown to Mr. Herbert P. Horne, he at once recognised in it a fragment of a very important altarpiece, representing The Holy Trinity with Saints and Angels, painted about 1457 for the church of the Santissima Trinità at Pistoja. The commission for this painting was entrusted to Francesco di Stefano, known as Pesellino through his early training under his maternal grandfather, Pesello, then working in conjunction with his partner, Piero Lorenzo di Pratese. The whole picture represents the Holy Trinity in the centre between S. Giacomo Maggiore and S. Mamante (or Mamaso) on the spectator's left, and S. Zeno and S. Jerome on the right. Above these figures floated angels in adoration. At some time or another, probably not long before the date at which it came into Mr. Young Ottley's possession, the original painting was broken up with cruel violence, and the fragments sold as separate pictures. The central portion, representing the Trinity, was purchased from Mr. Young Ottley by the Rev. W. Davenport-Bromley, and at the sale of this noted collection in 1863 it was purchased by the Trustees of the National Gallery. The two figures of flying angels have found their way into the private collections of the Lady Henry Somerset and the Countess Brownlow, and have been exhibited on more than one occasion. The remaining group of S. Zeno and another saint has not yet been discovered. The predella, with scenes from the lives of the four saints, is in a private collection at Pistoja.

The history of this important painting and its vicissitudes are in course of investigation by Mr. Horne, and, when published, will prove an interesting chapter in the history of Central Italian art. In the mean time, a reproduction is given of the main painting as reconstructed from the fragments at present known to exist, in the hope that the missing portion may thereby be recognised.

The work of two hands can be traced in the complete picture. Pesellino died at Florence in 1457, at the early age of 35, and was buried in the church of S. Felice in Piazza there. The painting was unfinished at the time of his death. On this point and others Mr. Horne's researches will without doubt throw much light.

Meanwhile the independent researches of Signor Bacci, summarised below by Mr. Roger E. Fry, have thrown much light on the history of this picture.

TWO SAINTS. BY PESELLINO. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING

PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

PESELLINO'S ALTARPIECE

The documents published by Signor Peleo Bacci, in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, are of such unusual interest in connexion with the reconstruction of this altarpiece now for the first time made public, that I may perhaps be permitted to summarise them for the benefit of those English readers who are not familiar with the original. Documents of this kind have as a rule but little human interest, but it so happens that the author of these—a certain priest, Pero di Ser Landi—has a picturesque and effusive style which allows us an unusual glimpse into the humours of provincial manners in the mid-fifteenth century.

The story of the whole transaction is briefly this. On September 10, 1455, the Company of the Santissima Trinità[1] of Pistoja met and decided to have painted an altarpiece for their oratory. It was to have the Trinity in the centre, the figures of S. James, S. Zeno, S. Jerome, and S. Mamante (in local dialect, *Mommè*) at the sides, and to cost from 150 to 200 florins. In June 1456 Prete Pero di Ser Landi records the expenses of his visit to Florence to commission the altarpiece of Pesellino. On September 26, 1456, are recorded disbursements to Pesellino and to the carpenter who made the panels. From September 1456 to July 1457 Pero di Ser Landi was constantly visiting Florence to supervise the picture, always at the expense of the company. As a rule he appears to have gone once a month at a cost for horses and hotels of about three libbri.

In 1456 further payments to Pesellino, Manetti (the carpenter) and to Bastiano di Nanni del Conte for a "predella intarsiata" are recorded. In 1457 Pesellino died, and in 1457 we find recorded a payment of 20 fiorini di suggello to Madonna Tarsia, Pesellino's widow, as "part of the amount left due for the picture he had painted." In the same year seven pounds of fruit were taken to Florence, to present to the notary, and had to pay tax at the octroi. In the same year there are items of expenditure for the carriage of the panel to Pistoja, where it too was subjected to the exactions of the octroi. But the picture was not yet finished, and it was handed over to Fra Filippo

[1] 1455, 10 Sept.

"The Company of the Trinity united and assembled in our church in the middle of the week on 10 Sept. of the above-named year in an ordinary meeting according to the usual custom. After divine service had been celebrated and silence commanded by the priors, and all ordered to take their respective seats, Messer Jachopo (di Bart. Bellucci), Archpriest for the time being, and one of the priors, proceeded to speak . . . persuading the Company that, seeing that the most devout Company of priests of the Trinity was placed in such honour and glory that by divine Providence and by the good and holy statutes observed therein from of old, it was from day to day augmented in all those occupations in which they were at the time engaged, whereby the said Company might be called sublime and more exalted than any place in our lands—truly it seemed to him that in one thing only the said Company suffered inconvenience and great loss, and this was that the Company was without such a gift as, that is to say, a painting for the altar. . . ."

They all agree that the picture is to be got, but "various were the opinions as to the expenditure. To one it seemed that a moderate thing of small cost would suffice, others considering the conditions of that place were all against a small expense, and then all were talking together at once, one wanting one thing and another another without any accord."

Then Bart. Farucci speaks and advises an expenditure of 150 to 200 florins, and this was passed by a large majority. Thereupon a committee is appointed to supervise the work, with power to sell 350 *omine* of corn for the expense.

Then they discuss the figures to be put in: "All were agreed to place the Trinity in the centre because it was our emblem; and then there were to be two saints on either side; one was decided to be Saint James the Greater because he was a 'patron' of the country, and another was to be S. Zeno, also a patron of the clergy of Pistoja. The third was S. Jerome, and because the fourth saint was wanting, I, prete Pero Ser Landi, humbly prayed the Company, seeing that I was most devoted to the glorious martyr, S. Mommè, that if they agreed that his figure should be painted there, I was willing to celebrate his day every year in the said Company, and leave for the said feast-day in perpetuity six *omine* of wheat."

Lippi at Prato for this purpose. Items of expense for going to see Filippo Lippi at Prato now take the place of those for the periodical visits of Pero di Ser Landi to Florence. Lippi appears to have been paid in part in corn.

Finally, in 1459, the picture was finished and brought to Pistoja. The expenses appear to have exceeded the anticipations of the company, for a separate account records their indebtedness to the Bishop of Pistoja, who advanced money to Fra Filippo Lippi.

The next entry is of the utmost importance for the history of the picture. There would appear to have been some discussion as to the ultimate value of the picture, which was estimated at from 180 to 200 florins. The Bishop of Pistoja, Donato de Medici', decided in 1459 that the work done by Filippo Lippi was good, and that the picture was worth 200 florins. To Filippo was due therefore the rest of the 200 florins, after subtracting the amounts already paid to Pesellino and his heirs. It is not a little surprising to find what the relative shares of the two artists were. Pesellino and his heirs had had only 85 florins, and Lippi receives 115. Moreover, for painting a *cortina* and *dossale* in wood for the altarpiece, Lippi is awarded 18 florins more.

In 1462 and 1463 the company is occupied in getting from Francesco di Lorenzo de Montelupo a glass window to protect the altarpiece from the weather.

In 1465 the company added *sportelli* for the further protection of the picture ; these were painted by Meo di Bocchi, who did thereon four shields with the emblems of the company—*i.e.* the Trinità.

The last entry is that of 1467, when one of the priests of the company went to Prato and paid the dues to enable him to bring out of the town the *dossale* painted by Lippi. At last, then, the altarpiece, with all its fittings, was complete.

Two questions remain to be answered. The predella of four pieces which exists in the collection of Cav. Antonio Gelli at Pistoja is reproduced by Herr Werner Weisbach in his book on Francesco Pesellino. According to him, the four subjects are (1) *A Miracle of San Zeno*, (2) *Beheading of S. James*, (3) *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, (4) *S. Jerome in the Wilderness*. The Daniel in the Lions' Den is surely a scene in the life of S. Mommè,[1] but what, I have not been able to discover. The question remains whether this predella was done by Filippo Lippi or by Pesellino. The payment to Bastiano di Nanni del Conte in 1456 for a predella of intarsia work complicates the problem. Herr Weisbach maintains the authorship of Pesellino ; Mary Logan and Signor Peleo Bacci consider it to have been by Filippo Lippi. It seems probable that the tarsia work was in the nature of a framework for the panels, and it is likely that in the panels the same inextricable mixture of the work of Pesellino, his assistants, and Fra Filippo Lippi exists as maintains in the rest of the altarpiece. The whole document shows what a complicated piece of work an altarpiece was, how little the conditions of modern picture making obtained, and how impossible it is when so many hands were at work to resolve the finished work into its component parts.

Of one thing only we may be fairly sure : the general design would be Pesellino's. The Christ is certainly his in its main outlines, since it is scarcely other than an enlarged version of the Christ in the recently acquired Crucifixion. But it would be rash to say that Pesellino finished even this part of the altarpiece ; it is weaker in modelling, less firmly accented in line than the beautiful figure of the Berlin picture. Personally, too,

[1] In the panel at Buckingham Palace S. Mamante is accompanied by a lion.

ALTARPIECE. BY PESELLINO AND FILIPPO LIPPI. IN THE COLLECTIONS OF H.M. THE KING, LADY HENRY SOMERSET, THE COUNTESS BROWNLOW, AND THE NATIONAL GALLERY

I am inclined to see in the face of God the Father Fra Filippo's distinguishing characteristics. It has his genial and rather too good-natured expression.

The second question is what became of the other side panel, and here Waagen's description of the picture, which he saw in Young Ottley's collection, must be quoted. He says (in the first English edition, 1838, vol ii. p. 125), "Pesello Peselli: the altarpiece which, according to Vasari, he painted for the church of S. Jacopo in Pistoja (the documents now show that Vasari was in error here), God the Father holds Christ upon the cross. On two other panels, S. James and S. Zeno. Very noble in the character of the drawing and admirably carried through in all the parts. In this picture the master is not inferior to any of his contemporaries."

Now he mentions only two saints and yet speaks of two panels; moreover the two saints occur upon separate panels. It seems more probable that he should omit to mention all the figures than he should have spoken of one panel as two. Therefore we may assume that the picture was complete in Young Ottley's collection, though already divided into panels. What has happened to the remaining side panel is a matter for conjecture.

ROGER E. FRY.

S. MAMMES

With reference to the article on the Pesellino altarpiece, and in particular to the iconography of the predella, I should like to make the following suggestion: the S. Mommè of the Pistoiese document is doubtless the saint usually known under the name of S. Mammes. The following account of this saint, taken from the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Peter de Natalibus, may be interesting in this connexion :—

"De Sancto Mammete Martyre.

Mammes puer vij. (*sic* pro xvii.) annorum apud Cesaream Cappadocie tempore Aureliani imperatoris et presidis Antiochi passus est. Qui defunctis parentibus persecutionem fugiens in silvam secessit: ubi orationi jugiter vacabat: et de lacte suarum ovium se pascebat. Sed admonitus de celo in campum descendit: ibique codicem evangeliorum et baculum repperit: quibus assumptis in montem ascendit. Et dum lectioni insisteret: ferarum multitudo ad eum convenit: quibus mansuefactis de lacte ipsarum sanctus emungebat: de quibus ad refectionem sui utebatur. Residuum vero cum ad portam civitatis Cesaree ad vendendum deferret: ut precium pauperibus erogaret. Alexander preses hoc audiens: misit ad eum duo milites capiendum. Quos ille in domum suam adducens benigne refecit. Dumque illi animalia ferocia ad eum venientia conspexissent, territi fuerunt. Sanctus vero Mammes eos secutus est: coram preside presentans: et asserant Christianum. Quem preses detentum jussit in equuleo suspendi et torqueri: deinde in carcerem recludi: ubi plusquam xl, Christianos repperit fame deficientes: verum orante puero columba de celo advolans lac et mel attulit: quibus illos sanctus reficit: et aperto carceris ostio vectibus confractis omnes emisit. Quod audiens preses Mammetem in caminum ignis mitti fecit. Igne vero bis extincto bisque rénovato: dum flammis deficientibus illesus exisset: bestiis subjicitur: sed ab his intactus minime leditur. Amphitheatro quoque ab angelis incluso: ut nemo exire posset: leo foveam egressus: multos judeorum ac gentilium interemit: qui et humana voce locutus est. Hec a deo se jussum facere in ultionem Christi militis Mammetis. Denique jubente sancto leo solum presidem cum omni officio suo illesum dimisit. Tandem sanctus martyr cum lapidibus obrutus maneret illesus: ab angelis de celo vocatus emisit spiritum, xvi. kalen. Semptembris."—*Catalogus sanctorum*, ed. 1508, f. 195.

The scene in the amphitheatre with the lion would readily be mistaken for Daniel in the lions' den. Saint Mammes (Mammas, Momma, &c.) is the patron of the Cathedral of Langres. He is mentioned by St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzene. His cult is strong in the Greek Church (September 2), and in Milan and elsewhere. Works on iconography usually represent him with a forks or trident, or the palm of martyrdom. I have always found the work above quoted from much more useful for Italian pictorial iconography than such works as the *Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum*, for example.

ROBERT STEEL.

ST. SEBASTIAN. BY BERNARDINO PARENTINO.
IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING

VII

ST. SEBASTIAN, BY BERNARDINO PARENTINO

AMONG the paintings of the early Italian school purchased for H.R.H. Prince Albert was a small painting on panel of St. Sebastian attributed to Andrea Mantegna, purchased by Mr. Gruner at Rome in 1847 from Signor Minardi, and presented to Prince Albert by Queen Victoria on his birthday that year. The composition, a simple one, recalls the majestic St. Sebastian by Mantegna at Aigue-Perse, near Clermont-Ferrand, in France. It falls short, however, of that superb composition in most details, though it is manifestly inspired by the great master's work. There can be little doubt but that we have here one of the Mantegnesque paintings by the little-known Bernardino da Parenzo (Parentino or Parenzano), whose work has lately received some little attention. Specimens of his painting are to be seen in the Galleria Estense at Modena, the Museo Civico at Verona, the private apartments of the Palazzo Doria Pamfili at Rome, and elsewhere. As a special study of the paintings of this school has lately been made by Dr. Tancred Borenius, the following notice of Bernardino da Parenzo will be welcome to readers of *The Burlington Magazine*.

The small picture of St. Sebastian, now at Buckingham Palace, is painted on panel and measures 19¾ ins. by 13 ins. LIONEL CUST.

There are still very few documentary clues to the biography of Bernardino Parentino. Not even the researches of Prof. Lazzarini and Prof. Moschetti, which of late have thrown so much light on the history of Paduan painting,[1] have brought any addition to our knowledge of the life of this master. The principal *point de repère* is now, as before, a passage in the *Anonimo Morelliano*, in which mention is made of frescoes in the second cloisters of S. Giustina at Padua, executed by "Lorenzo of Parenzo, who afterwards entered the Agostinian order."[2] Here Lorenzo is obviously a slip for Bernardino, as will be seen by a comparison of these still existing, though much injured frescoes, with the painting in the Modena Gallery signed "Bernardin Parençan pisit." On the authority of the above statement of the *Anonimo* we may feel fairly safe in identifying Bernardino Parentino the painter with the Agostinian friar of the same name who died on October 28, 1531, at the age of 94 years, and who was buried in the oratory of S. Niccolò di Tolentino at Vicenza.[3] We also know that the frescoes in the cloisters of Santa Giustina were dated 1489 and 1494,[4] and there exists a rather futile elegy in Bernardino's praise written by his contemporary Raphael Placentinus and first published in 1518.[5]

[1] See Lazzarini and Moschetti, *Documenti relativi alla pittura padovana del sec. xv.*, in "Nuovo Archivio Veneto," vols. xv. and xvi. (Venice, 1908).

[2] "L'inclaustro segondo . . . fu de man de Lorenzo da Parenzo che poi diventò Eremita." *Anonimo*, ed. Morelli, p. 11.

[3] See the epitaph in Faccioli, *Museum Lapidarium Vicenti mum* (Vicenza, 1776), i. 147, No. 148.

[4] Brandolese, *Pitture, sculture . . . di Padova* (Padua, 1795), p. 100.

[5] Raphael Placentinus, "Ad Bernardinum Parentinum pictorem," in *Polysticha* (Cremona, 1518).

With the signed picture of Christ between two saints in the Modena Gallery as starting point, it has lately been possible to restore to Parentino a considerable number of works. It is a fanciful and pleasing, if by no means great or profoundly interesting, artistic personality which they reveal to us. His style is very largely eclectic, Mantegna, Ercole de' Roberti and Giovanni Bellini being the artists whom he chiefly laid under contribution; but there is no lack of a personal note in his work, and the assimilation of the foreign elements is accomplished not without skill and taste. He is seen at his best as a *raconteur* in small religious or mythological compositions, such as the scenes from the legend of St. Anthony in the Palazzo Doria at Rome, the Conversion of St. Paul in the Verona Gallery (No. 331), the Expedition of the Argonauts in the Museum at Padua (No. 424), or the two truly delightful little Concerts in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin. In these and allied works Parentino shows much of the spirit of Carpaccio, coupled with a certain harshness and roughness and a romantic fondness for the antique which are characteristic of his Paduan origin. He also possessed a refined sense of colour, as will be acknowledged by any one who can recall, for instance, the Temptation of St. Anthony in the Doria Gallery, with its beautifully harmonised, dull tapestry-colours.

The St. Sebastian in the collection of H.M. the King is a noteworthy addition to the *œuvre* of Parentino. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the attribution to this master. The landscape, the knotty extremities, the technique (note especially the peculiar treatment of the hair), and the type of the saint—which should be compared with that of the Virgin Annunciate in the Venice Academy (No. 608)—point most definitely to Parentino as the author. The picture affords a characteristic example of Parentino's innocent and lovable eccentricity, and acquires a special interest through the fact that we here for once can trace a particular model followed by the artist. To every student of Mantegna this painting will at once recall the great St. Sebastian formerly in the church of Aigue-Perse (Puy-de-Dôme) and now in the Louvre. The figure of the saint, the ruin behind him, and the two half-length figures of archers are all taken from Mantegna's picture, with some modifications, no doubt, but still faithfully enough to remove any doubt as to the source of Parentino's inspiration in this case.

This relation between the king's picture and the Aigue-Perse altarpiece ought to be of some aid in dating the former painting; but unfortunately there is little certainty as to the date of Mantegna's work. It seems very likely that it was brought to France by Count Gilbert Bourbon-Montpensier, to whom Aigue-Perse belonged, and who in 1481 married Chiara Gonzaga, the daughter of Mantegna's princely employer Federico. Critics are, however, at variance as to the exact period when the Aigue-Perse picture was executed, and the present writer has not been able to form any personal opinion in this matter, as he knows the painting in question only from reproductions. If anything, it seems to him that the forms of the landscape testify in favour of Prof. Thode's view that this work belongs to the eighth decade of the fifteenth century,[1] which is possibly therefore the *terminus a quo* of the date of Parentino's St. Sebastian. Of the master's own works this picture stands perhaps nearest—by reason of the slight, sketchy technique—to the little paintings of the Announcement to the Shepherds and the Procession of the Magi in the Vicenza Gallery.

TANCRED BORENIUS.

[1] Thode, *Mantegna* (Leipzig, 1897), p 110.

ST. SEBASTIAN. BY MANTEGNA, FROM AIGUE-PERSE

VIII

THE LOVERS, AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

AMONG the remnants of the great collection of Italian paintings formed by Charles I. which have survived the dispersal of the collection under the Commonwealth and the gradual process of disintegration from which the collections of the Crown of England have suffered either through actual negligence, or through the various casualties ensuing on frequent transfer from one palace to another, there still remains at Buckingham Palace a painting, a mere wreck of its former self, but which still preserves enough of its haunting spirit of beauty to make it of extreme value and interest both to the student and to the *dilettante*.

This picture is that of the so-called Lovers, which has since the time of Charles I. been attributed either to Titian or to Giorgione, and has for some time past borne the name of Titian. (See *Frontispiece*.)

By kind permission of King Edward VII. this picture was deposited on loan for exhibition privately with the Burlington Fine Arts Club, when many critics had an opportunity for making a close examination of it.

The subject is of the simplest. A young Venetian is supporting in his arms a woman, probably a courtesan, who is apparently in a swoon or an ecstasy of love. Behind them is seen the head of a third person, evidently of an inferior station in life, whose sex in the Buckingham Palace picture it is difficult to establish.

The picture is unfortunately a wreck. It was originally painted on panel, which bore the brand of Charles I., as Prince of Wales, before 1625. In Vander Doort's catalogue of Charles I.'s collection in 1639, it is attributed to Titian, and in the catalogue of James II.'s collection made in 1688 it is attributed to Giorgione, whose name remained attached to it at Kensington Palace until the early part of the nineteenth century. It had then fallen into such bad condition that it was necessary to transfer the painting to canvas, which was done about sixty years ago, when the painting was also covered with a thick and strong varnish. So disastrous, however, has been the action of time on the varnish and on the many repairs to the damaged picture, that the picture itself was practically withdrawn from exhibition and placed in a secluded spot in Buckingham Palace. An attempt will shortly be made to preserve from further decay such portions as still remain of the composition and its glorious colouring. In view of the almost hopeless defacement of the painting itself, one is compelled to rely upon the soul of the picture, its *Geist*, its *Innigkeit*, and try therefrom to discover to which of the great Venetian painters it can safely be attributed. To the present writer it seems that the soul or spirit of the picture, the passionate sensuousness, the *abandon* of love, which transmutes in the true Renaissance spirit that which is probably little more than an

ordinary incident of lawless amour into a love-poem to which Catullus might have signed his name—this soul, together with the gorgeous colouring which intensifies and illustrates the passion of the moment, could not emanate from the mind of any painter other than Giorgione.

Much light has lately been thrown on the life and work of Giorgione by such writers as Senatore Morelli, Dr. Ludwig, Dr. Gronau, Mr. Herbert Cook, and Sir Claude Phillips, though much remains obscure. The one fact which seems to emerge from these researches is that Giorgione was during his short life the dominating spirit of the new Venetian school under the aged Giovanni Bellini, and that Titian, Palma, and Sebastiano del Piombo were his juniors in age and the followers at his chariot wheels. As it is evident that Giorgione's unfinished task was carried out by Titian or Sebastiano del Piombo, it is not necessary, while insisting on the soul of a picture being that of Giorgione, to assume that the painting is necessarily the work of Giorgione's hand. It is difficult to believe that some of the early paintings by Titian, as perhaps some of those by Sebastiano del Piombo, were not either originally conceived or directly inspired by Giorgione.

The facts known about the history of the picture may be summarised as follows:—

(1) The painting now at Buckingham Palace was the property of Charles I. before 1625, and has ever since been ascribed to either Titian or Giorgione.

(2) Another version of the same picture, but by a different hand, is in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, where it has always been attributed to Giorgione. This version was noted by the present writer some years ago as a copy by a later hand, but the recent more detailed researches of Mr. Herbert Cook and Mr. C. S. Ricketts have invested it with new importance as a possible original, perhaps from the hand of Sebastiano del Piombo.

(3) A third version was formerly in the collection of King William II. of Holland, and came from a private collection at Pesaro, where it was attributed to Giorgione.

To these may be added the following copies :—

(4) A small copy in water-colours by Peter Oliver, done from the picture in the collection of Charles I., but with some variations which are difficult to explain, except by assuming that the picture had then been to a great extent altered by repaints, which were removed by subsequent cleaning.

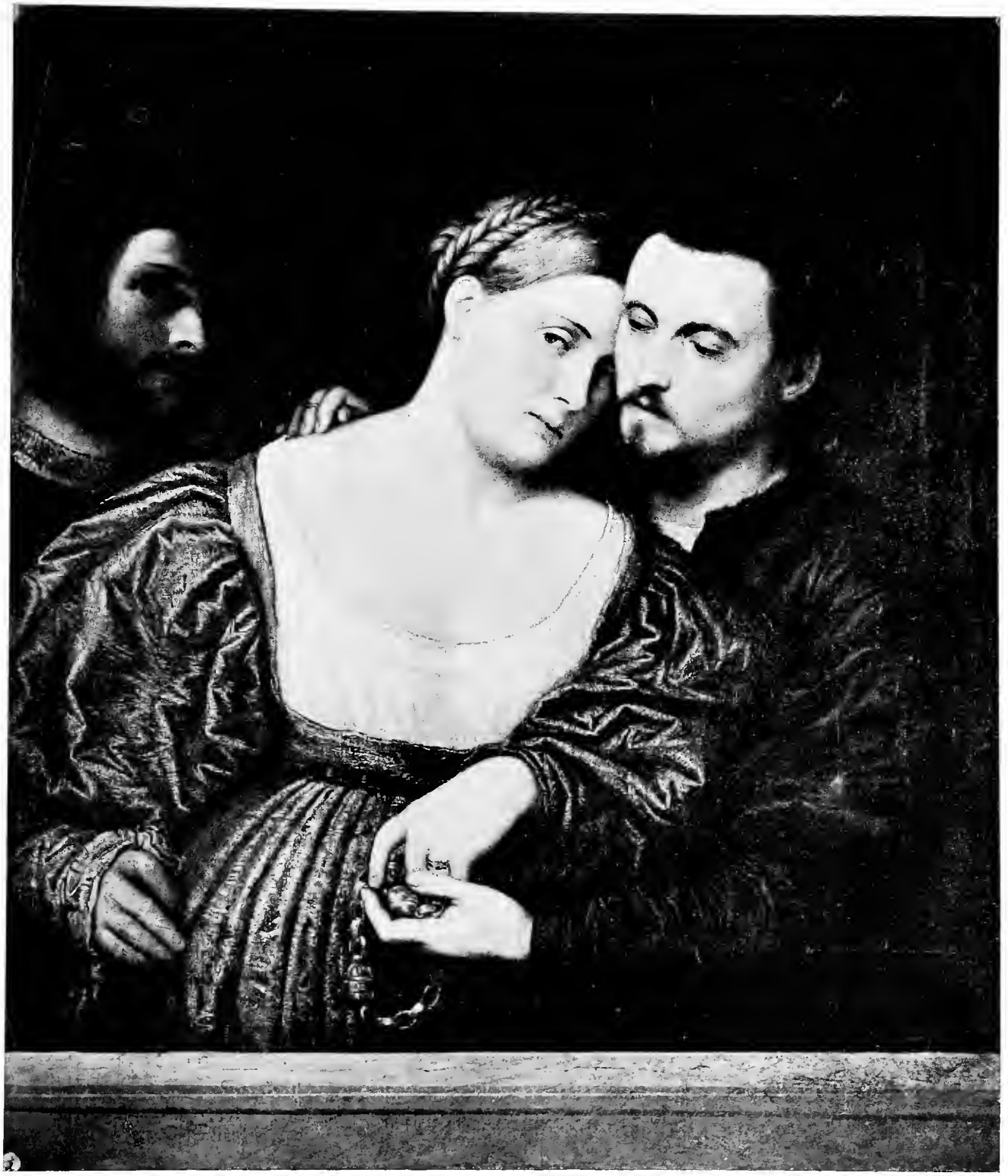
(5) A late copy of little merit, but of some interest, belonging to Professor T. McKenny Hughes at Cambridge, to which the name of Giorgione had been attached, and which seems to be taken from the version at the Casa Buonarroti.

(6) A modern copy by Fabris, now in the Accademia at Venice, which shows variations not to be found in either of the pictures in London or Florence.

To these may be added the following, as contributory pieces of evidence :—

(7) In the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan there is an engraving signed by the so-called Zoan Andrea, in which the principal group of the painting is reproduced with some variations. This design is attributed by Morelli to Jacopo de' Barbari. This engraver, who does not seem to have been in any way an original artist, was working at Venice from about 1480 to 1520—that is to say, during the lifetime of Giorgione and the youth of Titian. The connexion between this engraving and the paintings in question requires a careful investigation. In any circumstances the engraving denotes that the subject was popular in the earliest years of the sixteenth century, if not before.

(8) Among the hasty notes of pictures in Italy made by Anthony van Dyck in his



THE LOVERS. BY PARIS BORDONE. IN THE BRERA, MILAN

Italian sketch-book, now in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, there occurs a small sketch of the picture in question, containing all three figures, and ascribed by Van Dyck himself to Titian. This sketch must have been made by Van Dyck in 1622, probably at Venice, but perhaps at Rome or Florence, both of which places he visited that year. There is nothing to denote that Van Dyck's sketch was of necessity taken from the picture at Buckingham Palace, but it should be noted that Van Dyck was at this time in the train of the Countess of Arundel, wife of the great collector, and that this picture appears very shortly after this date in the collection of Charles, Prince of Wales.

With regard also to Van Dyck's ascribing the picture to Titian, it must be remembered that Titian was the object of Van Dyck's chief devotion, that he had studied Titian's work in the house of Rubens, and noted every picture of note by Titian in Italy which attracted his attention. It requires some courage in a modern critic, especially if he be not a painter himself, to question the judgment of Van Dyck in such a matter. Even if it be possible to catch him tripping in so naming the picture, the fact remains that in 1622 the picture was attributed to Titian and with sufficient reason to attract Van Dyck's attention and cause him to make special note of it as the work of Titian.

(9) Finally there is in the Brera Gallery at Milan a *pasticcio* of the same subject, clearly and unmistakably painted by Paris Bordone. In an article which follows this Mr. Herbert Cook states his reason for inclining to attribute the picture at Buckingham Palace to Paris Bordone. To the present writer it seems that one has only to place photographs of this picture and that in the Brera side by side to see how impossible it is that the two pictures should be the work of the same hand or the creation of the same brain.

Paris Bordone was magnificent as a practitioner of the art of painting in Venetia, but he was always the hard, cold, cynical painter of fashionable beauty and sumptuous decoration, entirely devoid of poetry or seduction, and incapable of introducing any new motive into his art. While the spectator may be filled with admiration at the splendour of colour and brilliancy of execution in the paintings by Paris Bordone, he is too often repelled by their cold heartlessness. In Bordone's hands the subject of The Lovers becomes a commonplace scene of debauchery, cynically and unblushingly portrayed.

It may also be noted that the subject was engraved by Zoan Andrea when Bordone was in his teens, and that it is evident from Van Dyck's sketch-book that he knew a Bordone from a Titian when he saw it. Moreover, even if The Lovers could safely be attributed to Bordone it could only be as a copy after an earlier original, which could only be by Giorgione. There does not seem to be anything in the work of Bordone to brand him as a mere copyist.

Without entering more closely into details, the present writer is inclined to see in The Lovers a work conceived and perhaps originally begun by Giorgione, and in the Buckingham Palace picture the realisation of Giorgione's conception by the hand of Titian. This conclusion has been further fortified by a study of the picture of Salome with the Head of St. John the Baptist, in the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj at Rome, and the version of the same picture in the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, rightly ascribed to Titian, in which the Giorgionesque conception seems as evident as in The Lovers at Buckingham Palace.

LIONEL CUST.

PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

Some years ago I had the privilege of examining at leisure the so-called Lovers by Titian, then hanging in one of the bedrooms at Buckingham Palace, and was thus enabled to describe the picture at p. 128 of my book on Giorgione :—

> "Ascribed to Titian, but probably derived from a Giorgione original. The picture is so damaged and repainted, although still of splendid colouring, as to preclude all certainty of judgment."

Such was the opinion I formed of it six or seven years ago. During the past winter, when frequent facilities occurred for becoming thoroughly familiar with the painting during its exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the conviction was gradually borne in upon me that we have here to do with a work of Paris Bordone derived from a Giorgione original. As in so many other cases of recent identifications, Crowe and Cavalcaselle had long ago hinted at this solution :

> "As early as the reign of Charles I., the rich but unfortunately restored canvas at Buckingham Palace, representing a gentleman supporting the form of a fainting lady, was called after Barbarelli; there is no denying the charm of the noble features of the young and fair-haired man who supports the drooping lady on his breast, and listens to the beating of her heart. The beauty of the scene is enhanced by the costly dress and delicate nurture of the actors, the whiteness and fineness of the linen, the gloss of the emerald and ruby sleeves, and, where the surface is preserved, the golden glow of complexions cleverly thrown into light and shade, the brilliance of sparkling tints, and the crispness of the touch. But this is the sort of charm which Pordenone, and after him Paris Bordone, was fond of producing, and this London picture, if it be not by Giorgione, is a bright specimen of grand Venetian art. We may suppose that in its conception the painter adhered closely to nature, and gave to the figures the significance of portraits, and the incident may have been derived from the novels of Bandello without prejudice to this mode of treatment. At all events, the subject pleased, and was more than once repeated."[1]

The existence of another much-damaged version in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, there attributed to Giorgione, and of yet a third example formerly belonging to William II. of Holland (which cannot now be traced), proves the celebrity of the original, and this is still further emphasised by two copies, one a seventeenth-century Italian repetition belonging to Professor Hughes, of Cambridge, who kindly allowed it to be placed at the Burlington Fine Arts Club alongside the Buckingham Palace picture, and the other a modern Italian copy by Fabris done fifty years ago and now hanging in the Accademia at Venice. We must suppose that this last was copied from the missing version formerly at the Hague, for it differs in detail both from the Casa Buonarroti and from the London pictures.[2]

All this goes to show that the composition was popular, and as tradition in all cases connects Giorgione's name with it, it is not unlikely that the design at all events was his. When we come, however, to the actual handling of paint, the damaged condition both of the Buckingham Palace and Casa Buonarroti pictures offers much difficulty in arriving at a decision. Both are unquestionably paintings of the ripe Cinquecento, rubbed and repainted no doubt, but still aglow with that glorious colour which no later dauber could altogether efface, revealing to those who can look below the surface the splendour and vitality of great painting. To me it appears quite possible that the

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *North Italian Painters*, ii. 148.

[2] In the notes to Milanesi's *Vasari*, iv. 104, it is stated that William II. bought his picture in 1846, through Baron Ettore de Garriod, from Conte Cassi of Pesaro. It was also ascribed to Giorgione.

MODERN COPY BY FABRIS. IN THE VENICE ACADEMY

PAINTING ATTRIBUTED TO GIORGIONE.
IN THE CASA BUONARROTI, FLORENCE

original work of Giorgione is before us in the Casa Buonarroti picture, completed may be by Sebastiano del Piombo (as in other instances is known to have been the case), and that the somewhat weakened forms of the London picture, the hotter flesh tints, and the crumpled treatment of drapery, betray a slightly later version by Paris Bordone. This is conjecture, for proof positive must necessarily fail where condition is at fault. Nevertheless, the conjecture may stand, and it may not be altogether inapt to see if any external evidence exists to support this view.

Paris Bordone has been unduly overlooked by modern historians. He is practically ignored by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and Bryan's Dictionary states facts incorrectly.[1] Morelli recognised his true position in Venetian art history, and describes him as "a brilliant and at times most refined and excellent painter,"[2] and again "a noble, attractive and refined artist, and a splendid colourist, though of unequal merit, and at times superficial."[3] Mary Logan, in her *Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court*, calls him "the Carolus Duran of his day; he painted women" (she says) "with more of an eye on the fashion plate than on the expression of their features, yet" (she adds) "at times his portraits are among the best of the whole school." Mr. Berenson gives a long list of his works,[4] including seventeen in England. Several more may be added in private possession, such as the Marquis of Bute's large and important Christ and the Centurion, perhaps next to the Fisherman and Doge, of the Venice Academy, his most ambitious work. Lord Bute also possesses a beautiful Portrait of a Lady, almost worthy of Titian.[5] At Longford, again, is a splendid representation of the courtesan type, of which the Earl of Wemyss, Sir George Donaldson, and Earl Spencer possess other examples. The three pictures in the National Gallery very fairly illustrate the strength and weakness of his style, The Portrait of Bianca Cappello (No. 674, if indeed it be she) showing him at his best as the fashionable portrait painter of the day in succession to Palma Vecchio, and the Salvator Mundi, recently added to the collection, the other and less attractive phase of his art.

Vasari tells us that Bordone closely studied and imitated Titian, and later adopted the manner of Giorgione.[6] This is indeed evident from his work, but nowhere is the connexion so clearly established as in a picture belonging to Earl Spencer at Althorp. In this, Bordone practically copies the famous mis-called Alfonso d'Este and Laura de Dianti, of the Salon Carré of the Louvre. What more likely than that he should have done the same in the king's picture, and taken Giorgione's original as model for one of his own works?[7]

This theory will also overcome the difficulty felt by the best English critics in accepting Giorgione or Titian as painter of the king's picture. To Sir Claude Phillips it is

> "A richly-coloured Giorgionesque idyll of a by no means platonic type, assigned alternatively to Titian or Giorgione. Yet we find it impossible" (he says) "to assign it to either of these great masters. The picture is doubtless of the time when, young and ardent, they both

[1] *e.g.* "After this" (*i.e.* studying under Titian) "he became a pupil of Giorgione." Bordone was born 1500; Giorgione died 1510. What an infant prodigy! Nor did he die 1571, as there stated.

[2] II. 251.

[3] I. 290.

[4] *Venetian Painters*, 3rd ed. p. 95.

[5] Another fine portrait belonged to King Carlos of Portugal. It was quite unknown until published in *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1906. The inscription on it reads: PAULA VICE COMES FILIA CAMILLO NUPTA CAROLO RAUDENSI MATER. A.L.H.

[6] VII. 461.

[7] Bordone again took the same, or a similar story, to illustrate in the so-called Seduction of the Brera; but here, being independent of Giorgione (if my theory holds), the treatment is more individual and characteristic.

lived and flourished, friends and rivals, in Venice. But it appears to us, for all the richness and splendour of the best preserved passages—such as the sleeve and costume of the male lover—too essentially second-rate to deserve the one or the other attribution, even though it has borne these alternatively ever since it has been known in England. It is nearer in style and in the choice of types to the early Virgin and Child with Saints of Titian, now in the Prado at Madrid, than to any extant Giorgione."[1]

Mr. Roger Fry, though admitting its "sensuous charm and glowing colour" hesitates to recognise the touch of Giorgione or Titian.[2] Perhaps these and other accomplished judges will be ready to accept my Bordone theory, as at least a plausible explanation of an admitted difficulty.

HERBERT COOK.

[1] *Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 29, 1905.
[2] *Athenæum*, Dec. 2, 1905.

IX

FRANCO-FLEMISH SCHOOL: THE DIVINE MOTHER

AMONG the smaller paintings acquired by H.R.H. Prince Albert with the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection is an interesting little picture of the Virgin and Child or the Divine Mother. The Virgin is seen to below the waist attired in a bright blue mantle, which is wrapped round her body and covers her arms. Her long fair hair is brushed back off the forehead and falls from the crown of the head in long wavy locks over the shoulders. Her face is wide, and she looks down with a slight smile and with heavy drooping eyelids upon the Infant Christ. The Child is held by His Mother in her arms, partially wrapped in the blue mantle, which is open at the bosom, showing a white vest, through which appears the Virgin's left breast. The Child grasps this, but turns his head before taking nourishment.

This little picture is painted in tempera on the finest canvas, almost like silk. The background is gold, covered with reddish-brown spots, and behind the Virgin's head issue flames painted in gold. The whole is inserted in a painted frame inscribed in large Gothic characters with votive inscriptions to the Virgin, that round the sides of the frame being written in black: AVE REGINA CELORUM AVE DOMINA ANGELORUM SALVE RADIX SANCTA EX QUA MUNDO LUX EST ORTA, while on the lower edge of the frame is an inscription in three lines of the same character written in red. The dimensions of the little painting are 14½ ins. high by 10 ins. wide within the frame.

The style of painting and the material on which it is painted suggest some connexion with the early paintings of Albrecht Dürer. The features of the Virgin, the downcast eyes and the general proportions of the head, show some affinity to Dürer, and this is also the case with the careful treatment of the hair, which has some resemblance to that in Dürer's portrait of the Fürlegerin. The artist seems to have been conscious of his inability to draw hands, and to have concealed them with intention in the folds of the blue drapery.

Three repetitions of this actual subject are known: that now at Buckingham Palace, one in the Louvre at Paris, and a third in the National Museum at Munich. All are practically identical, even to the Gothic inscriptions on the painted frames. The Munich painting is stated to have come from the convent of Altomünster, near Aichach.

It has been suggested by Dr. Max Friedländer that these paintings are taken from some miracle-working painting of the Virgin and Child in Germany, of which many copies were made for pilgrims. This, however, seems less probable in view of the fact that another painting, representing The Virgin and Child between St. Barbara and St. Catherine, painted in the same material on the same fine linen, and with a

similar frame bearing an inscription in similar Gothic characters, is to be found in the Collection Carrand now in the Museo Nazionale of the Bargello in Florence, In this picture, which is there attributed to the Netherlandish school, the figure of the Virgin is from the same model as that in the three pictures mentioned above, but the female saints show from their headdresses the costume of the Lower Rhenish school of about 1500. It would seem, therefore, to be in this direction that the authorship of these interesting paintings is likely to be determined.

Another solution is, however, possible. In the Musée de Picardie at Amiens there has recently been arranged a series of interesting paintings of the early part of the fifteenth century, belonging to the Confraternity of Notre Dame du Puy d'Amiens. The history of this confraternity affords an interesting page in the history of painting, especially in that of the French or Flemish painters in the north of France. This confraternity, like others in the same neighbourhood, was of great antiquity. As early as 1452 the archives of the confraternity show that a painting was commissioned annually for the mystery at the solemn feast of the Puy, or the Purification, and added on the following Christmas Day to those already hanging in the cathedral at Amiens. In 1517, when François I. and his mother, Queen Louise of Savoy, visited Amiens, the paintings amounted to forty-eight, and they were suspended on one of the pillars of the cathedral, known as the Pilier Rouge. Owing to the interest shown by the queen-mother, the paintings then existing were copied in *grisaille* by a painter of Amiens called Jacques Platel for a manuscript, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. During the seventeenth century, owing to the great number of the paintings, some had to be removed, and finally, in 1723, the whole collection was removed from the cathedral, some paintings being distributed among churches in the neighbourhood, but many destroyed. Of this collection, which must have been of the greatest interest and importance, only a few fragments survive, which have now been brought together in the Musée de Picardie. A glance at these paintings is sufficient to show that, although they belong to a definite school at Amiens, represented about 1568 by Firmin Lebel and in 1600 by Mathieu Prieur, the principal paintings preserved at Amiens belong to the early part of the sixteenth century, and to a painter, or painters, deriving from that school or workshop, at Dinant or Liège, which is generally connected with the name of Herri met de Bles. The style of composition and other details show a local influence of their own, but the types, costumes, and the introduction of portraiture point to the Bles origin. Among these types, moreover, are to be found those of the Virgin and the female saints, which are seen in the pictures referred to above.

Without going so far as to attribute the paintings at Buckingham Palace, the Louvre, Munich, and Florence to some painter of the actual Amiens school, it may be suggested that they are due to some confraternity on the borders of France and Flanders, similar to that of Notre Dame du Puy d'Amiens, and that the few specimens which have been preserved are but the remnants of a series not unlike those now in the Musée de Picardie at Amiens.

It is to be regretted that up to the present no photographs can be obtained of the paintings at Amiens other than those of two modern copies made by Crauk ; a full description, however, of the pictures will be found in the catalogue of the Musée de Picardie, from which the above information is derived.

LIONEL CUST.

THE DIVINE MOTHER. IN THE COLLECTION OF
H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

X

PAINTINGS ATTRIBUTED TO LUCAS VAN LEYDEN

AT Hampton Court Palace, in a room containing chiefly paintings by Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there will be found three small paintings or panels, which bear the name of Lucas van Leyden. Genuine paintings by Lucas are so rare that it is worth while to inquire into the history of these three pictures, which evidently form part of a series, being all painted on panels, and about the same size, 20 ins. high by 14½ or 15½ ins. wide.

These three pictures were part of the collection of King Charles I., who acquired them by purchase from Sir James Palmer. They are entered in Vander Doort's catalogue (Bathoe's Edition, 1757), as follows :

"No 35. Done by Lucas Vanleyden, bought of Sir James Palmer; being the first of the three pieces.
Item.—Another piece where Joseph in a white habit, his hands tied, and brought before a judge ; in a black ebony frame, painted upon the right light.—1f. 8.–1f. 2½.

"No. 39. Done by Lucas Vanleyden.
Item.—The second of the third and last pieces of Lucas Vanleyden, where one is lying in a green bed a dying, and another kneeling at the bed's feet, and some standing at the bed-side ; in a black ebony frame. These two pieces aforesaid of Lucas Vanleyden, were bought by the King of Sir James Palmer; the third and last fellow piece of Vanleyden is removed at this time to the chair-room, painted upon the right light. 1f. 8.–1f. 2½."

The third picture is catalogued in the chair-room aforesaid :

"No. 1. By Lucas Van Leyden.
Item.—The second in a black ebony frame of Lucas Van Leyden where Saint Sebastian stands tyed to the stump of a tree to be shot at.
Note.—This should follow No. 38, page 11, and No. 39 should be called the third and last of Lucas Van Leyden."

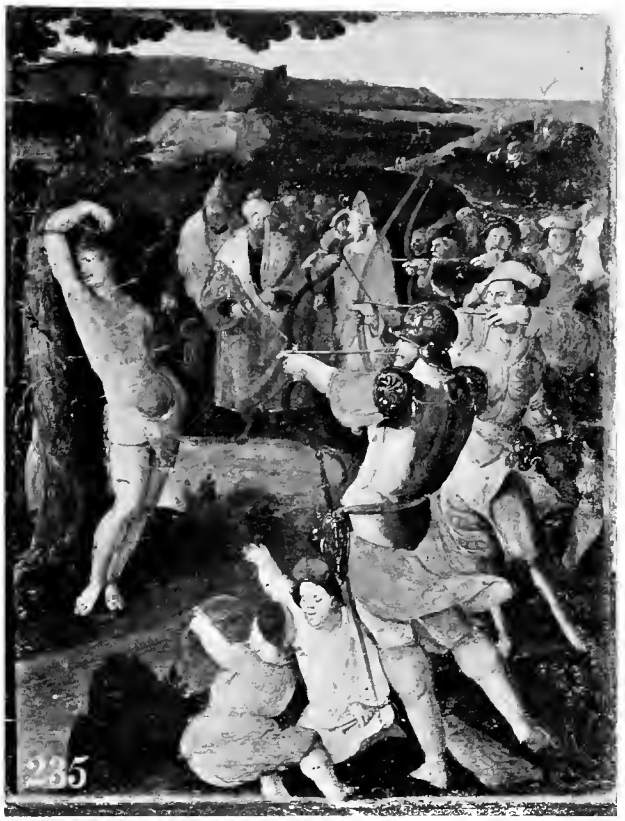
King Charles evidently liked such paintings by Lucas van Leyden, for he also owned a small painting of St. Jerome, "being one of the five pieces which the State's Ambassador gave to the King at St. James's, 1635," and a painting from the Mantua Collection of Chess-players, which is probably the painting now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin. Moreover at the disposal of the king's collection by the Parliament the three pictures in question seem to have been highly esteemed, since they were appraised as "Three pieces of St. Sebastian by Lucas Van Leyden" at £100 and sold to Mr. Wright on 26th May, 1650, for £101. They were, however, recovered for the royal collection, and reappear in the catalogue of paintings which belonged to King James II.

The three paintings have many of the characteristics of Lucas van Leyden's work; crowded composition, grotesque costume and especially the high comical caps, with realistic studies from human models. They are thinly painted in very bright colours, and, as might be expected, have suffered a good deal from injury and neglect, though not apparently from restoration. A very obvious weakness in drawing has led to the doubt whether the paintings can be credited to the hand of so skilled an artist as Lucas van Leyden himself, but in other details the hand of a practised master can be discerned, so that the paintings may be considered as not altogether unworthy of their attribution.

Dr. Franz Dülberg, who has made a profound study of the Dutch paintings of this period, was kind enough to communicate his critical opinion to *The Burlington Magazine*. Alluding to the defects in the drawing Dr. Dülberg suggests the possibility of the artist being really Dirk Huygensz, the brother of Lucas, and classifies the Hampton Court pictures with A Minister Preaching in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam [Plate, D] and a Crucifixion in the Museo Civico at Verona, the latter described by Dr. Dülberg in his *Frühhollandern in Italien*. Nothing, however, seems to be known of Dirk, except that he was a painter, and, on the whole, Dr. Dülberg seems inclined to leave the attribution to Lucas van Leyden, as it has been since the days of King Charles I.

Taking the three pictures here reproduced, that representing the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian [Plate, A] gives a fairly commonplace rendering of the subject. The figures are, however, characteristically Dutch. The children in the foreground mocking the saint can hardly belong to any artist but Lucas van Leyden, although the figures of the archers seem hardly worthy of him. The group of elders and the landscape in the background are also quite in Lucas's manner. The next subject [Plate, B] has been variously interpreted. In one case, where it was looked upon as a pendant to the St. Sebastian, it has been described as St. Sebastian brought before the Roman magistrate. Another version could see in it Joseph brought before the judge in Egypt, an explanation probably due to the fact that Lucas did paint a series of paintings illustrating the story of Joseph. It seems possible, however, that the scene is one taken from Roman history representing the young Manlius brought for judgment before his father, Titus Manlius Torquatus, whose refusal to remit a death sentence, even in the case of his own son, was often chosen as a recognised type of justice and so depicted in symbolical pictures of this nature and period. This painting is thoroughly characteristic in its details of Lucas Van Leyden, and, if further evidence be wanting, the signature L can be traced on the cartouch which hangs on the wall at the back of the picture.

The third subject [Plate, C] has hitherto escaped elucidation. It is, perhaps, the one which can be attributed most certainly to Lucas van Leyden. This deathbed scene may, however, be identified with the subject known as the Communion of Herkenbald, especially since the story of Herkenbald was one of the types chosen in the Middle Ages, like the story of Manlius, to symbolise the idea of justice. The legend of Herkenbald, the judge, is shortly this: The nephew of Herkenbald seduced a young woman, and was struck down dead by his uncle, the judge. On his deathbed Herkenbald, though urged to repent of this murder, refused to do so; whereupon the sacred wafer issued of its own accord from the *ciborium* in the bishop's hands, and laid itself on the tongue of the dying man.



(A) MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN.
HAMPTON COURT PALACE

(B) THE JUDGMENT OF TITUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS (?)
HAMPTON COURT PALACE

(C) THE COMMUNION OF HERKENBALD (?)
HAMPTON COURT PALACE

(D) A MINISTER PREACHING. RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

This legend is to be found in tapestry, and was evidently very popular.[1]

It is difficult, however, to explain the scene in the background where a man is destroying an idol.

This third picture had been detached from the other two, and was found at Buckingham Palace, whence it was removed in 1901 to join the other two at Hampton Court.

The painting of A Minister Preaching, in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, of which, through the kindness of Jhr. B. W. F. van Riemsdyk, the director, we are able to give a reproduction here, has so many points of resemblance with the Hampton Court paintings that they cannot help being classified together. The Amsterdam painting shows, however, a surer and more practised handling than those at Hampton Court, and seems worthier of a painter whose repute was so great as that of Lucas van Leyden. The Amsterdam painting is nearer also to the far superior paintings of The Chess-Players, at Berlin, and The Card-Players, in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, the latter of which has been finely reproduced in Capt. Nevile Wilkinson's book on the pictures at Wilton House.

We understand that, in addition to the researches already made by Dr. Dülberg, an exhaustive study of the paintings attributed to Lucas van Leyden is being prepared by Dr. Beets. It is to be hoped, therefore, that more light may be thrown by him on the three interesting little paintings at Hampton Court Palace.

LIONEL CUST.

Permit me to say a few words about two of the interesting pictures attributed to Lucas van Leyden at Hampton Court Palace. Nobody who is familiar with the work of Lucas will fail to recognise the unmistakably "Leydenesque" character of these three pictures. Nevertheless, the execution is far too crude for a master of Lucas's rank. A careful examination of the originals revealed to me certain traits in these panels which make me feel convinced that they are but copies of lost originals by the rare master of Leyden. The most prominent one among these traits is the lameness of expression in the faces, which always characterises copies of mediocre masters or scholars. Now, I think that for two of the panels I can offer a plausible explanation. These are the so-called Judgment of Titus Manlius Torquatus and the Communion of Herkenbald (Mr. Cust was careful enough to put question marks behind these denominations). Karel van Mander tells us in his *Schilderboek* (ed. Hymans, i. p. 146, biography of Lucas) that he saw in the house of a brewer in Delft a series of tempera paintings on linen by Lucas which represented the story of Joseph, and were originally used for decorations. The same author also records that they have been greatly injured by the dampness of Dutch atmosphere. One of these canvases has been identified by Sir Sidney Colvin in a painting formerly in the collections of Lord Methuen and at Corsham and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Marquand gift, 1888). It represents Joseph's coat being brought before Jacob and has been injured considerably by dampness. The rich architectural background is very similar to the one in the panel reproduced by Mr. Cust, so is the composition. Indeed, the two

[1] See Joseph Destrée, *Maître Philippe*. Vromont et Cie. Brussels, 1904.

compositions could very well be regarded as pendants. I have not the least doubt that the two pictures from Hampton Court are copies after two other canvases of the same series to which the New York canvas originally belonged. [B] represents Simeon being bound and detained by Joseph, while in [C] we have most likely the death of Jacob (in the background there can be seen a group of Egyptians with the statue of an idol). The New York canvas is of larger proportions ($67\frac{1}{2}$ ins. h. by $56\frac{1}{2}$ ins. w.), an exact description of it will be found in the Catalogue of Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum.

MORTON H. BERNATH.

XI

ST. JEROME, BY JAN SANDERS VAN HEMESSEN

IN one of the less frequented state rooms in Hampton Court Palace, that containing various paintings by artists of the Netherlandish school, there is a large square picture of St. Jerome which is of some special interest, though unattractive from the mere aesthetic point of view. St. Jerome is seated almost nude, with his favourite lion crouching at his feet in a rocky landscape, and is writing in a book. Here we have the more conventional attitude of the saint, who is represented as a bald-headed, extremely ugly old man, with a short, ragged beard. On examining the picture the student will be struck by the admirable modelling of the nude torso, and other details, which reveal the hand of a practised painter, combining the tendency to caricature, which was so prevalent in the early history of *genre* painting, with something of the grand style derived from a study of the great Italian masters and the antique. This painting came from Charles I.'s collection, and seems to be identical with one formerly in the Duke of Mantua's collection in 1627, with the "St. Jerome, done by Quentin, sold to Mr. King, 28th May, 1650, for £60," and that entered in the catalogue of James II.'s collection as "No. 822, St. Jerome sitting with a lion by him; by Quentin Metsys." The name of Quentin Metsys seems to have been attached in early days to many paintings of this exaggerated and grotesque school, such as the Misers, or Usurers, of which so many versions are known, and which are now given with some certainty to Marinus van Reymerswael and other painters of the same school.

The ascription to Metsys in the case of the St. Jerome is the more surprising in that the painting is signed in full, in large letters: IOANNES DE HEMESSEN PINGEBAT 1545. Paintings by Jan van Hemessen are fairly numerous, and for the most part marked by a strong characteristic personality, St. Jerome being a favourite subject with the painter. Lately this painter has found a special student in Herr Felix Graefe (a pupil of Prof. Henry Thode at Heidelberg), who selected Hemessen as the subject of a dissertation for a doctor's degree, and has worked up the dissertation into a valuable monograph.

Karel van Mander only mentions Jan van Hemsen as a painter who sketched the antique and lived at Haarlem. The researches, however, of M. Van den Branden, published in his *History of the Antwerp School of Painting*, revealed that the painter was born about 1500 at Hemishem, or Hemessen, a village on the Scheldt, near Antwerp, and that his family name was Jan Sanders. In 1519 he was pupil of Hendrik von Cleef at Antwerp, and in 1524 he was "meester" of the Guild of St. Luke there. In 1526 he married Barbara de Fevre, by whom he had two daughters, Christina and Catharina. He continued to live and acquire property in Antwerp, becoming Dean of the Painters' Guild in 1548, until 1551, when he migrated to

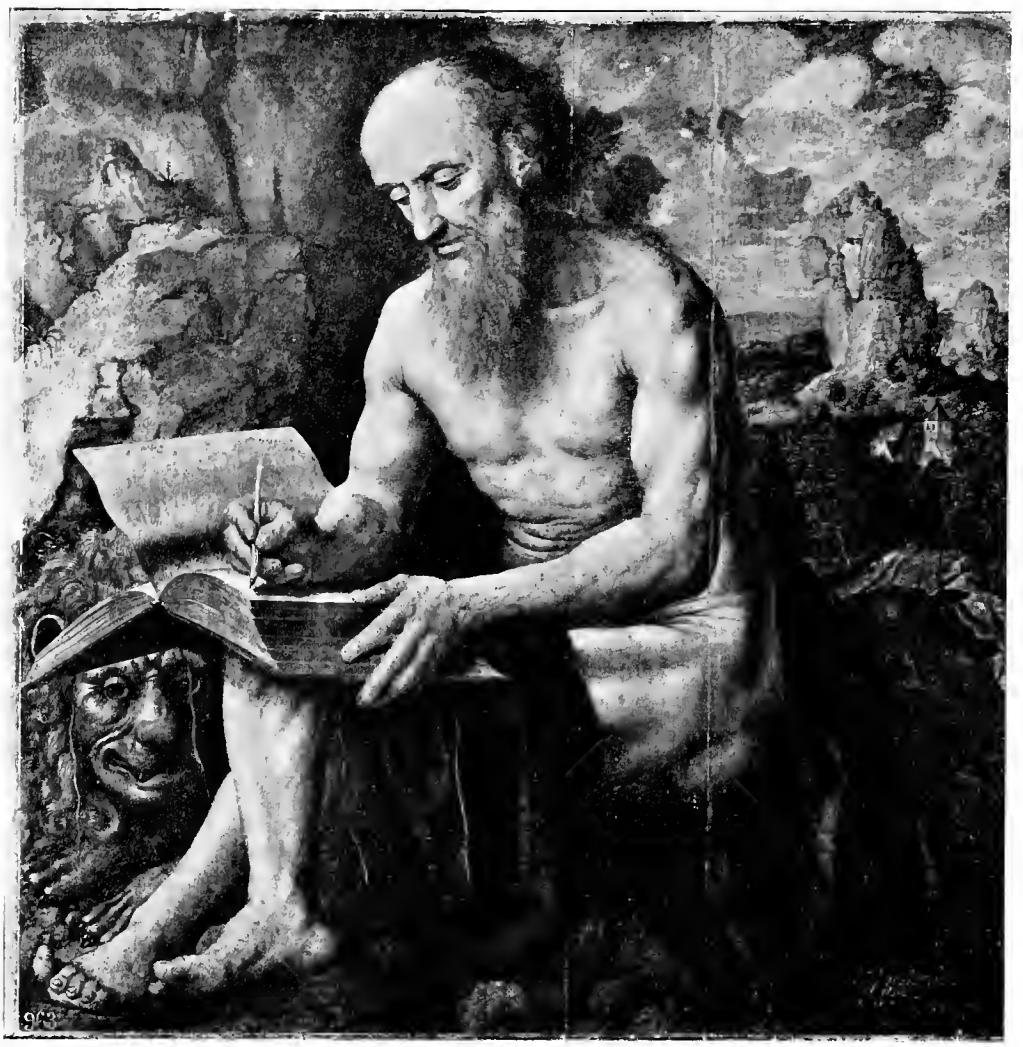
Haarlem, having evidently become involved in some financial trouble. At Haarlem he enjoyed great repute, and was known as the Dutch Raphael, and he died there some time about 1563.

Dr. Graefe's monograph is mainly devoted to proving that Jan Sanders van Hemessen is identical with the painter of the Feeding of the Five Thousand in the Brunswick Gallery, bearing a monogram usually read as I. v. H. S., but which Dr. Graefe would render as I. S. v. H. This picture, to which Dr. Bode was the first to draw notice some twenty-five years ago in his *Studies of Dutch Paintings*, is obviously one of a group of paintings representing the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the March to Calvary, and other subjects, giving occasion for a canvas crowded with innumerable figures. One of these is in the author's own possession. He then seeks to show that the painter of these pictures is identical with that of the paintings containing larger figures, of which the St. Jerome at Hampton Court is a good example. The difficulty of following Dr. Graefe here is that these earlier paintings of landscapes, crowded with small figures, are more strongly reminiscent of the Dutch School of Lucas van Leyden and Scorel, and much nearer related to the works of Pieter Aertsen than the later paintings, especially those containing single figures like the St. Jerome, which are conceived in quite a different manner, derive clearly from the school of Quentin Massys, and group themselves decisively with the works of Jan Massys and Marinus van Reymerswael. These later and larger figures have something majestical about their rugged and grotesque treatment, which is quite different from the more finished and lifelike *genre* painting of Aertsen and other contemporary painters of the Antwerp and Dutch schools.

Unpleasing as the accepted works of Jan Sanders van Hemessen undoubtedly are, they are by no means unworthy of remark and study. For this purpose Dr. Graefe's monograph, with its excellent plates, will be a useful guide, even if the student be unable to bridge the slight gulf between the master of the Brunswick monogram and Jan van Hemessen himself.

It should be noted that one of Jan van Hemessen's daughters, Catharina, was herself a painter of remarkable skill. In 1554 she married Christian de Moryn (or Morien), a well-known organist and musician at Antwerp. The talents of both husband and wife led to their being employed at the Spanish court in Madrid. So important was the work of Catharina van Hemessen as a portrait painter that no student of iconography of this period can afford to overlook it. It is hoped that some student like Dr. Graefe may devote a monograph to this much more attractive and sympathetic artist, about whom so little is known, although one of her paintings has been deemed worthy of a place in our National Gallery.

LIONEL CUST.



ST. JEROME. BY JAN SANDERS VAN HEMESSEN. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE

PANEL BY A PAINTER OF THE BOHEMIAN SCHOOL, EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY(?) IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

XII

AN EARLY BOHEMIAN PICTURE

ONE of the most interesting pictures acquired by H.R.H. Prince Albert with the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection is a Virgin and Child, within a frame containing scenes from the life of Christ, which clearly belongs to the early Bohemian school of painting, and is perhaps the only example of that school which is to be found in this country.

This picture consists of a central portion and a frame. In the centre is the Virgin carrying the Infant Christ in her arms, somewhat rudely executed. The Virgin wears a blue and crimson robe and has a white veil over her dark brown hair. On her head are the remains of a jewelled crown. The Child is attired in a greenish-grey robe powdered with gold stars, and holds in His right hand a bullfinch, and in His left a golden apple.

The frame consists of eight small compositions from the lives of Christ and the Virgin painted on a gold ground, the portions of the ground which intervene between the paintings being stamped or pounced with figures of the Twelve Apostles and scrolls bearing their names. These small paintings are of great interest, although in one or two cases they have suffered from restoration. They start from the left-hand upper corner of the frame, and represent in order the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Adoration of the Magi, the Virgin and other figures at the foot of the Cross, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. These little paintings show an Italian influence which would be quite characteristic of the school of painting at Prague or in its neighbourhood at the end of the fourteenth century, although the picture at Buckingham Palace probably belongs to the early years of the fifteenth century.

The fact of the frame being superior in execution to the central figure can be explained by the probable sacred character of the painting of the Virgin and Child, which would lead to its being adorned with jewels and kept bright by repainting, like the icons of the Eastern Church.

Dr. Max Friedländer states that a picture similar to that at Buckingham Palace and in a similar frame is to be found in the Cathedral Museum at Breslau, and that a picture of the same character is in the Stiftskirche at Hohenfurt in Bohemia. The Buckingham Palace picture was kindly lent by His Majesty King Edward VII. in 1906 to the Exhibition of Early German Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in order that some light might be thrown on the history of so interesting a painting.

LIONEL CUST.

XIII

TWO GERMAN PORTRAITS

AMONG the paintings from the collection of Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein, now at Buckingham Palace, are two portraits of the German school in the early sixteenth century, which if not of any great importance in themselves, yet seem worthy of some special notice.

The first of these is a portrait of a young man in a light brown coat with broad bands of black velvet on the sleeves and a broad fur trimming down the sides, the coat being wrapped round him so as to show an undervest of black cloth, but no white shirt. He wears a light gray cap over his thick light brown hair. His features are well defined and the eyes light hazel. He holds in his right hand, which is thrust out of the folds of the cloak, a rosary of reddish-pink beads. The portrait is painted on a deal panel, which has apparently been prepared with a reddish ground, the background of the painting being a dull olive green. The portrait measures 20 ins. high by 14 ins. broad.

Across the top of the painting is inscribed on the left ANNA (*sic*) $\overset{\frown}{\text{DNI}}$, and on the right 1509; the space in the centre being filled by a slight device in gold paint, representing an owl apparently attacked by another bird. The portrait was recognised by Dr. Waagen as belonging to the school of Albrecht Dürer, and he therefore attributed it to Hans von Kulmbach. It would seem more probable that the portrait is the work of Hans Baldung (Grün), seeing that it was during the years 1507–9 that Hans Baldung was working at Nuremberg under Albrecht Dürer.

When looking at this portrait at Buckingham Palace the mind reverts to the well-known Head of an Old Man at the National Portrait Gallery, rightly ascribed to Baldung, and also to the newly acquired portrait of Albrecht Dürer's father, ascribed to Dürer himself, which hangs close by and challenges a comparison. The authenticity of the portrait by Dürer will probably ever remain a subject of dispute. It may be that the ravages of age and the destroying hand of man have removed the evidences of authenticity, as they have done so ruthlessly in the case of the portrait at Buckingham Palace here reproduced.

It has not apparently been noted during the discussion on the Dürer portrait that there was at Nuremberg a school of portraiture, of which Albrecht Dürer was but the greatest and most skilful exponent. Its style of portrait was not invented by him; it existed already, but was converted by his genius from a trade or craft into a fine art. The great families at Nuremberg—the Tucher, Hofer, Kress, Holzschuher, Paumgärtner, and others—possessed a series of portraits, many of which were contemporary with Albrecht Dürer, and even anterior to him.

PORTRAIT BY MICHAEL OSTENDORFER. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

PORTRAIT ATTRIBUTED TO HANS BALDUNG (GRÜN). IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Round Dürer grew up a school of young painters, such as Baldung, Pencz, and Altdorfer, whose portraits are by no means among the least of their works. That his pupils copied Dürer's works seems indubitable, and what better models could they have had? Is it too bold to hazard a conjecture that the portrait of Dürer's father was one of the regular properties of Dürer's studio, and that the most successful pupil was he who could most skilfully imitate the great master's own touch in the minutest detail? In these circumstances it would be possible to hazard a further suggestion, that the portrait of Dürer's father now in the National Gallery might be the work of Hans Baldung in Dürer's studio. A comparison of this portrait with the authenticated work of Baldung close by is not entirely hostile to such a suggestion. A further comparison with the portrait at Buckingham Palace, so far as that can be seen under its present ruined surface, leads to a similar suggestion. At all events, it would be necessary to know more about the Nuremberg school of portrait painters before declaring one's absolute faith in the authenticity of the portrait of Dürer's father now at the National Gallery.

It may be noted also that the curious device in the centre of the inscription above the portrait, the owl and the flying bird, is suggestive of the work of a fifteenth-century engraver in Germany.

The second portrait here reproduced serves to introduce a painter whose works are very scarce in England, and indeed in Germany outside his native town of Regensburg (Ratisbon), where the painter, Michael Ostendorfer, seems for a time to have been the chief artist in the town. Ostendorfer was the pupil and successor at Regensburg of Albrecht Altdorfer, that great original genius who had begun his early studies under Dürer at Nuremberg, and subsequently developed a style of his own. Ostendorfer can hardly claim a high rank among German artists, but his designs for woodcuts are not without power and merit. He lived at Regensburg about 1515–59, and seems to have enjoyed the patronage of the Elector of Bavaria and his consort. The portrait at Buckingham Palace represents a young man standing behind a parapet which is covered with a crimson brocaded cloth. He is seen at half length, his right hand resting on the parapet, his left holding a carnation between his finger and thumb. On the first finger of his left hand are two rings, one with the armorial bearings of his family, and another ring is on the third finger of his right hand. He wears a black dress with full sleeves, puffed and slashed above the wrists, and a light brown cloak trimmed with broad black velvet strips. The dress is cut square on the breast and shows a white shirt with a gold braid round the neck. On his head is a large, flat, broad-brimmed black cap. His features are regular, but somewhat pinched, his hair short and light brown, his eyes are light brown. In the background is a castle seen on the left at the foot of a mountainous range, one height of which, like a dolomite, is extremely conspicuous. The sky is of a curious lurid combination of colours, chiefly orange and blue. The painting is signed on the parapet M.O. (in monogram) and dated 1530.

The portrait is painted on a dark stained deal panel, on the reverse of which are the following inscriptions :—

At the top is inscribed in large capital Roman letters :

NATVS . ANNO . DNI . MD . IIII.

Below this is inscribed in Gothic letters

BLOITHENGIESER—PORTNER

above and on either side of a double shield of armorial bearings, the dexter shield bearing sable a chevron or between two mullets above and a bell below, all of the same, with the same shield of arms as a crest, and the sinister shield bearing sable a stag salient or, the crest being a stag's head with large antlers. The first-named armorial bearings are identical with those on the ring worn by the young man on his finger.

Below this again is inscribed, again in Roman capitals :

FACTA EST IMAGO HEC ANNO DNI MDXXX.

and below this, at the bottom of the panel, in Gothic characters :

WILS GOT NIEMANDT WENNDTS.

This portrait is an interesting specimen of Bavarian art, and may represent a new phase of art to the student in this country.

LIONEL CUST.

LUCRETIA, BY LUCAS CRANACH, IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

XIV

PAINTINGS BY LUCAS CRANACH

IT is not surprising, seeing that H.R.H. Prince Albert was a Saxon prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg, to find in him some special predilection for the works of the great Saxon painter Lucas Cranach. The fact is noteworthy, because at the time of the Prince's arrival in England the works of Cranach were practically unknown, although a few survived in the royal collection at Hampton Court Palace, where they were treated with even more neglect than the works of the early German or Netherlandish artists were at that date, under the influence of the hopelessly Italianate authorities. It is interesting to watch how, by slow degrees, the importance of Lucas Cranach in the history of art began to assert itself, until Cranach has at last been given his full rank as one of the great original pioneers of art at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Although the style of Lucas Cranach is one so peculiar to himself, he still to some extent remains an enigma in painting, and his pre-eminent merits as a painter are still far from universally recognised. As an engraver on wood and on copper, Lucas Cranach has been given more readily a very high place. Yet in all his paintings—sacred history, mythology, landscape, hunting scenes, portraits, &c.—there is something inherent of the true spirit of beauty, an element of poetic fantasy, even if there be occasionally present some weakness, grotesqueness, or deliberate eccentricity which jars upon the spectator.

It would not be possible within the limits of this short notice to give an account of Lucas Cranach's life, and of the picture-manufactory which he started at Wittenberg ; to estimate his share in helping the Wittenberg press to spread the Reformation through the words and writings of Martin Luther, with whom he was on terms of personal friendship ; or to trace his relations with his patrons the great Dukes Frederick, John, and John Frederick of Saxony, or with the famous Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg. It will not be possible to explain thoroughly the so-called pseudo-Grünewald, or to criticise thoroughly Dr. Flechsig's identification of this artist with Hans Cranach, the youngest son of Lucas. The mind, however, likes to dwell upon the "good gray" painter who followed his master, John Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, after the disastrous defeat of Mühlberg, into exile at Augsburg, and afterwards into a royal retreat at Weimar, where Cranach found an honourable grave at an advanced age.

There are fourteen paintings ascribed to Lucas Cranach in the royal collections, ten of which at least were procured by or for Prince Albert.

The most important of these is a large triptych on panel, the central portion of which measures $65\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 49 ins. and each wing $65\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 34 ins. In the centre stands the Virgin Mary at full length, standing on the crescent moon, in the

hollow of which, under the Virgin's feet, are the features of a man. This curious piece of symbolism occurs in other paintings of the Cranach workshop. Above the Virgin's head float two angels holding a crown. On either side of the Virgin stand St. Catherine and St. Barbara, in rich costumes such as were worn by German ladies at that date, which are particularly characteristic of Cranach's paintings. They stand on a stony ground, but the figure of the Virgin and the upper part of the saints are relieved on a dead gold ground, which is arched at the top so as to show a dull green background in the spandrels. The wing on the spectator's left contains full-length figures of St. Philip and St. James, that on the right a single figure of St. Erasmus in rich episcopal robes. In each case the saints stand on a ground similar to that of the central panel. On the outside of the wings, and relieved against a similar dull green background, are figures of St. Nicolas, in episcopal robes, and St. George respectively, these saints being enhanced, as it were, on a gold background, corresponding, when the wings are closed, to that of the central panel.

This important painting was purchased by Prince Albert at the sale of the Earl of Orford's paintings at Messrs. Christie's on June 26, 1856, for 136 guineas. The story was that it had been purchased by the Earl of Orford somewhere in Bavaria, where it had been found serving as divisions to a cornbin. It was then attributed to Matthäus Grünewald.

There is no need here to try to throw any light on the so-called pseudo-Grünewald and his relation to Lucas Cranach. The authorship of the triptych at Buckingham Palace is evident to any student of Cranach's works. The exaggerated length of the figures, the costumes of the female saints, the robes of the episcopal saints, and other details are all characteristic of Lucas Cranach about 1516, though there is no work of this period which surpasses the Buckingham Palace triptych in dignity and importance. If the painting came from Aschaffenburg or its neighbourhood its ascription to Grünewald becomes intelligible, for, after the days of the famous Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Aschaffenburg was for a long time full of the works of Cranach as well as those of Grünewald, the local painter of renown ; and pious enthusiasm assigned to the local hero many paintings by Cranach or his sons, merely because they happened to be found at Aschaffenburg. The figure of St. George on one of the outer wings is noteworthy from its peculiar relationship to the figure of Lucas Paumgärtner as St. Eustace, according to the recent restoration of the great triptych at Munich. The resemblance may be of a casual nature, but as the Paumgärtner altarpiece was already in existence when the triptych by Cranach was painted, and in view of the probable connexion between Cranach and Albrecht Dürer through Jacopo de' Barbari, it is possible that Lucas Cranach may have seen with his own eyes the Nativity by Dürer. A further similarity between the two paintings is shown in the distinct use of portraiture by both painters in the figures of the armoured saints. The altarpiece by Dürer appears also to have had figures of St. Catharine and St. Barbara on the wings, which have now disappeared. If these figures were originally on the *inside* of the wings, as more appropriate supporters of the Nativity, the two Paumgärtner brothers, as the protecting saints, St. George and St. Eustace, would have been on the outside of the wings, which, when closed, would have presented an appearance somewhat similar to that of the Cranach triptych. The details of the armour in Cranach's St. George are particularly interesting, and are repeated on a small scale in a similar figure of St. George on one of the wings of the triptych in the cathedral of Merseburg. The head of St.

Emery Walker Ph.Sc

Adam and Eve

by Lucas Cranach

in the collection of H. M. The King at Buckingham Palace

George, moreover, is evidently a portrait, and resembles the unidentified portrait of a man in the Town Museum at Heidelberg.

It would appear that the gold background mentioned was a later addition in order to enhance the effect of the central figures when seen from below or at a distance. The picture does not appear to be signed or dated.

Of the other works purchased by Prince Albert, the most important is a fine painting of Adam and Eve in a wooded landscape, Eve seated on the back of a stag, which is lying down, and Adam being in the act of drawing a bow. In the background of this painting is a mountainous landscape with cliffs and a castle —very characteristic of Cranach, and perhaps taken from the so-called Saxon Switzerland. In this painting the figure of Adam drawing the bow at once recalls the engraving and drawing of Apollo by Jacopo de' Barbari, on which Albrecht Dürer founded his own famous engraving of Adam and Eve. The resemblance is the more interesting, inasmuch as it is known that Jacopo de' Barbari visited Wittenberg, where Cranach was residing, in 1503 and 1505, so that it seems certain that both Lucas Cranach and Albrecht Dürer were, independently of each other, influenced by that mysterious Venetian artist, of whom so little is really known. This subject is one worthy of special consideration and investigation on its own account.

The painting of Adam and Eve is signed with the small snake with single bat's wing which is usually found on Cranach's later paintings. It was purchased for Prince Albert in 1846 by Dr. Gruner from Mr. Campe in Nuremberg.

This painting is quite distinct from another painting of Adam and Eve which was in the collection of Charles I., and was described in Vander Doort's catalogue of the collection (p. 160, No. 4 of Vertue's edition) as—

"Done by Lucas Chronich. Item. The picture of a naked standing Adam and Eve, where by in a bush lying a great stag, with long horns, Adam is eating the apple ; intire little figures ; brought from Germany, by my Lord Marquiss of Hamilton. 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 1½ in."

This painting is no longer in the royal collection. The subject was one for which Cranach showed a special predilection, probably on account of the opportunity which it gave for depicting the nude figure.

3. The next most important painting by Lucas Cranach acquired by Prince Albert was one of Lucretia, in which the Roman heroine is represented in the rich dress of a German princess, with her bosom bare to the waist, in the act of inflicting the fatal stroke with a dagger. In the upper corner to the left is a mountainous landscape, seen through a window, resembling that in the Adam and Eve. The painting of Lucretia is signed with the small snake and dated 1530. This painting was purchased by Prince Albert of Mr. Nicholls in 1844. It is a fine example, though apparently heavily retouched, of a subject often repeated by Cranach.

4. A portrait of one Nicolas de Backer, given to Prince Albert by Queen Victoria in 1844, is a complete wreck through damage and unskilful restoration. It is possible to discern through the repainting that it must originally have been a portrait of no little importance. It represents a man of about sixty years of age, with golden hair, moustache, and beard, clad in a dark-brown, fur-lined robe, wearing a black cap on his head, and holding what appears to be a rosary of pink beads in his two hands. Above his head on the left is inscribed ÆTATIS LX/ANNO CHRISTI SALVATORIS MDIX̄, followed by the snake as Cranach's signature. On the right is a shield of armorial bearings, carrying—

sable three storks' heads argent, beaked gules, over all on an escutcheon of pretence argent three trefoils sable (?). The stork's head and trefoils reappear in the crest. Below the shield is inscribed: NOB: D. NICOLAVS DE BACKER/DNS DE WATEREPPE I: CAR/V A CONCILIIS NAT: EQVES. As these inscriptions have all been rewritten, they cannot be regarded as trustworthy. Rietstap, in his *Armorial Général*, gives the arms of de Backere of Flanders as "D'arg. à trois tréfles d'azur."

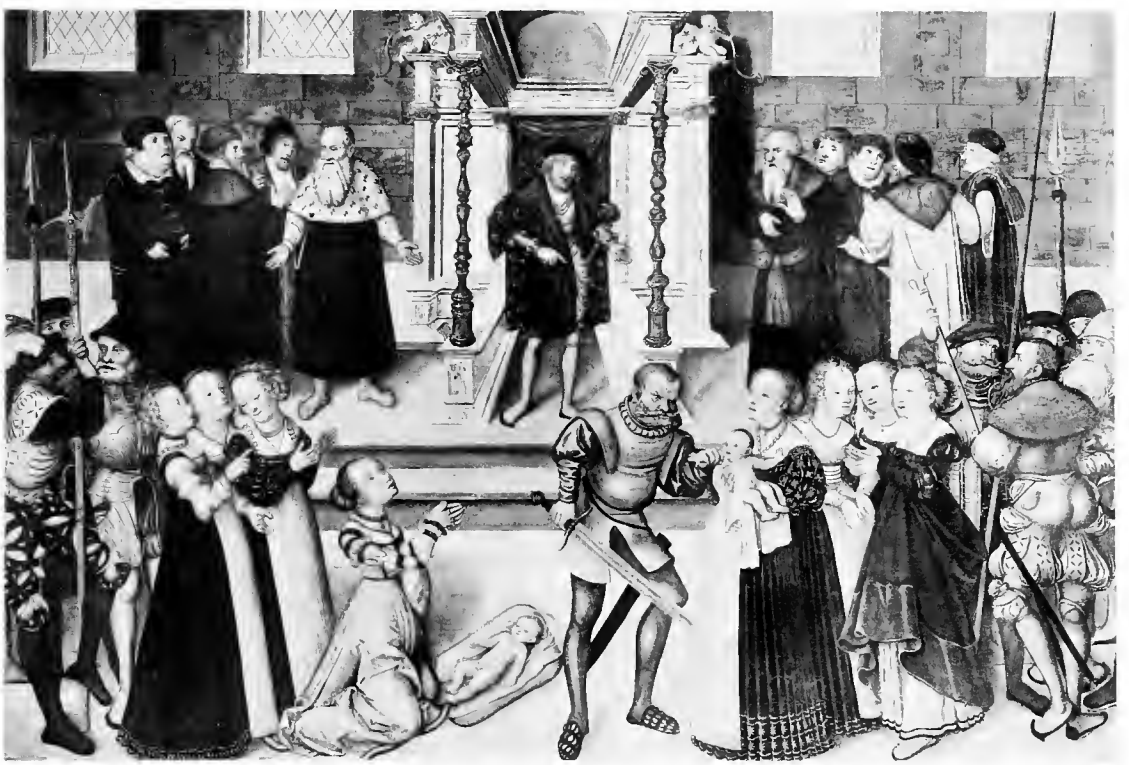
5. A small painting of Salome with the Head of St. John the Baptist, acquired by Prince Albert, is a weak production of the Cranach workshop. Salome is represented in rich German dress, and in the background is the courtyard of a castle, in which the execution is actually taking place. This painting formed part of the collection of Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein.

6. A painting of The Electress Sybilla of Cleves and her Son, given to Prince Albert by Queen Victoria in 1840, as the work of Lucas Cranach, is one of many familiar *supercheries* by Rohrich, a German artist in the eighteenth century.

7. In August 1860 an important painting was purchased by Queen Victoria and presented to Prince Albert. This represents the Judgment of Solomon, a large painting on panel measuring $45\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $66\frac{1}{4}$ ins. The composition is in two planes. Behind, raised on two steps, under a kind of architectural baldacchino, stands Solomon in the guise of a German prince, with his ministers and counsellors grouped on either side. Below in front are the respective groups of the two mothers with their friends and the executioner in the act of carrying out Solomon's command. The picture is signed with the snake and dated 1519. Among the ministers of the king, who appear to be portraits, it is possible to discern Cranach's patron, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Elector of Mayence. It is probable, therefore, that this was one of the paintings commissioned by the cardinal from Lucas Cranach or from the Cranach workshop for the collegiate church at Halle, which the cardinal founded in 1518, but which after a few years he was compelled to dissolve. The pictures were then brought by the cardinal to Aschaffenburg, whence arose the attribution to Grünewald, and the existence of a so-called pseudo-Grünewald, to whom allusion has already been made. It seems fairly certain that this pseudo-Grünewald was connected with the Cranach workshop at Wittenberg, but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to separate the work of the elder Cranach or that of his sons from that produced by their joint efforts in the natural pursuit of their trade.

8. In June 1854 Prince Albert purchased at Christie's, from the sale of the collection of Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), a small painting on panel by Lucas Cranach, which had been acquired in Spain. This is now at Buckingham Palace. The painting represents the Virgin holding the Child to her breast, and measures only $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by 6 ins. It is signed with the snake and the date 1547. It is inscribed on the back of the panel in Spanish—"Tabla la Virgin y el nino de Lucas Cranach." This attractive little painting is painted in a rather different style from that of Cranach's usual work. The Virgin is clad in a blue dress, with a red mantle showing ample white sleeves, while her long golden hair falls down her back over her left shoulder. She clasps the Child to her breast as he stands upon her lap and places his left hand on her neck. The composition is of a much later development than that, for instance, of a similar group in the Munich Gallery, which is dated 1525. If it be the genuine work of Cranach, it reveals an influence coming from the south.

VIRGIN AND CHILD.



THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.

PAINTINGS BY LUCAS CRANACH,
IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING,
BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Now the date on the painting, the difference in the style, and the Spanish *provenance* all point to an interesting suggestion. It was in April 1547, the date of the little picture, that the battle of Mühlberg was fought, at which the Elector John Frederick of Saxony was taken prisoner by Charles V., and sent to an honourable captivity at Augsburg. It is well known that Lucas Cranach followed his master into captivity and remained by his side at Augsburg. That city, like Nuremberg, was always in close touch with Italy, and Italian influence was specially felt at Augsburg. The emperor, Charles V., was a great patron of Italian art, and was actually present at Augsburg for some time in the winter of 1547, whither he summoned Titian in January 1547–48, and here Titian painted not only the famous equestrian portrait of Charles V. now at Madrid, but also the half-length portrait of the captive Elector John Frederick himself which is now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Cranach can hardly have failed to be present with his master while the great Venetian was painting this portrait. Apart from this, there would have been sufficient Italian influence about the imperial court at Augsburg in 1547 to account for a painting by Cranach, probably done for one of the Spanish court, if not for the emperor himself, having been executed in a style somewhat different to the crabbed and archaic productions of the family workshop at Wittenberg.

9. Among the fifteenth and sixteenth century portraits collected together in a small lobby adjacent to the royal private chapel in Windsor Castle there is a portrait of Martin Luther as "Junker Jörg," attributed to Lucas Cranach, of which a detailed description will be given later on.

10 and 11. In 1840 H.R.H. Prince Albert purchased in Germany two small portraits of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, and John Frederick the Magnanimous, Elector of Saxony, the latter signed and dated 1535. These are only fair examples of the innumerable portraits of these two princes which were issued by the Cranach workshop at Wittenberg, together with those of Luther and his wife, to advance the cause of the Reformation.

The remaining three paintings by Cranach have been for a long time part of the royal collection.

12. *The Judgment of Paris.*—This little picture, which is painted on panel, measuring 19½ ins. by 13½ ins., depicts in a curious way a scene which was apparently a stock subject in the Cranach workshop. Similar paintings are in the Kunsthalle at Karlsruhe, the Götisches Haus at Wörlitz, and elsewhere. The representation of Paris as a medieval knight, and Mercury as an old man with three nude female figures, has caused some people to see in this subject not the Judgment of Paris, but a medieval legend referring to King Alfred and his three daughters. There seems to be no doubt that the painter intended to represent the former subject.

The painting of the Judgment of Paris is probably identical with the picture described in the catalogue of James II.'s collection as "No. 976. Heemskirk. The Judgement of Paris." In 1818, when it was at Kensington Palace, it was described as "No. 593. Judgement of Paris. By Albert Aldegraaf. A very curious specimen of the early German school." It is now at Hampton Court Palace.

13. *The Fourteen Patron Saints of Germany.*—This long oblong painting is painted on panel, measuring 14 ins. by 33¾ ins. It represents St. Christopher and the other thirteen patron saints (*Nothhelfer*) of South Germany. St. Christopher is in the middle, on a larger scale than the others. In the group of six saints on the left can be identified

St. Erasmus, St. Dionysius, St. Vitus, and St. Giles, and in that of seven on the right St. George, St. Catherine, St. Barbara, and St. Margaret. A similar painting by Lucas Cranach is in the Marienkirche at Halle, this being signed and dated 1529. Other representations of the fourteen *Nothhelfer* exist, there being usually some variations in the actual saints included.

This painting was in the collection of Charles I., as is shown from the royal brand on the back of the panel. It does not appear in Vander Doort's catalogue, which was compiled in 1639, but at the dispersal of the collection "A peece of St. Crisostom (*sic*) with many figures" was sold to Mr. Marriott on May 6, 1650, for £2. It was recovered at the Restoration, and appears in James II.'s catalogue as "No. 921. A landscape with St. Christopher and several other figures." In 1810, when at Kensington Palace, it was, like the Judgment of Paris, attributed to Albert Aldegraef (*sic*), and described as "an extremely curious specimen of the early German school." It is now at Hampton Court Palace.

14. *The Adoration of the Three Kings.*—This painting, which is on panel measuring 55 ins. by 40¼ ins., has been attributed to Lucas Cranach with less certainty than those already described. The composition is conventional, the Virgin and Child in the centre, an aged king kneeling before Christ, and the other two kings, one a negro, standing on either side.

This painting has also been attributed to Lucas van Leyden, with whose art it seems to have greater affinity. The figures seem Netherlandish, but have been cruelly repainted. The landscape background resembles those of Cranach. The history of this painting has not yet been traced. It is now at Windsor Castle, where it has formed part of the royal collection for a very long time.

Before concluding these notes on the paintings by Lucas Cranach in the royal collections, it should be noted that, in Vander Doort's catalogue of Charles I.'s collection, there are entries, in addition to the Adam and Eve already mentioned, of (p. 12, No. 45 of Vertue's edition) "Done by Lucas Chronick. Item. Hereunder in a little round, turned, black, and gilded frame, painted upon a green ground, the picture of some private German gentleman, in a black cap and a golden chain, whereby his name is written, Hans Von Griffin Dorfe, painted upon the wrong light, of. 4½ by of. 4½." And (p. 13, No. 51, *ibid.*) "Done by Lucas Cronick. Item. Hereunder is the picture of Dr. Martin Lutor, in a black, eight square, ebone frame, bought by [the King] at Greenwich, by my Lord Marquiss Hamilton's means, peinted upon the wrong light, of. 4 by of. 4." There is no further trace of these two small portraits in the royal collections. James, third marquis, and afterwards first duke, of Hamilton, in 1631 landed in Germany with 6000 men to assist King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden on behalf of Charles I. The expedition was a failure, and Hamilton returned to England in 1634, where, in spite of his failure, he at once became the king's most intimate and trusted adviser. Hamilton did not, however, return empty-handed, for he brought several paintings home from Germany with which to please his royal master.

Among the paintings enumerated above was a portrait of Martin Luther, in his soldier's garb as "Junker Jörg" during his enforced captivity in the Wartburg. This portrait, which is painted on panel and measures 20½ ins. by 14 ins., was covered with much opaque varnish and repainted, and has undergone restoration with a fairly satisfactory result. Among other disclosures has been the original background of dull greenish grey, though it is possible that the original tint tended towards the green rather than to the grey, which at present predominates. On this background there appeared for the

TRIPTYCH BY LUCAS CRANACH,
IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING,
BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

SHUTTERS OF A TRIPTYCH BY LUCAS CRANACH, IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING, BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

first time the well-known winged serpent with a ring in its mouth, the mark used by Lucas Cranach, and adopted with variations by the Cranach workshop in Wittenberg. In this instance the snake has bat's wings, as used by the elder Cranach, but the wings are more depressed rather than erect as in the elder Cranach's earlier signatures.

The episode of Martin Luther as "Junker Jörg" is a landmark in history. Visitors to the famous castle of the Wartburg are still shown the rooms in which he lived, and in which he employed his enforced leisure in translating the Holy Scriptures into the language of his people. It was in the spring of 1521 that Luther, in order to save him from his enemies, was captured by his friends and secluded in the Wartburg under the assumed name of "Junker Jörg." Meanwhile the fire of reformation, which he had lighted, continued to spread, and in no town with greater freedom than in the University town of Wittenberg. Among those who accepted the Lutheran doctrines with enthusiasm was the painter and engraver, Lucas Cranach, a highly respected town councillor and leading citizen, who had a printing press and publishing house, as well as a wine-shop, near the market-place. In spite of the patronage bestowed upon him by the greatest prelate of the neighbourhood, Albrecht, Cardinal-Archbishop of Brandenburg, Lucas Cranach became an unswerving disciple of Luther, and by his pencil and imagination contributed no small share to the propagation of the reformed religion among his fellow-citizens.

In the early days of December 1521, Luther, clad in his soldier's dress with beard and flowing moustache, appeared suddenly at Wittenberg in order to defend in person his doctrines against the great cardinal himself. Disheartened by the situation, he returned speedily to his retreat, until March 1, 1522, when he could endure the restraint no longer, and, leaving the Wartburg for good, appeared again in Wittenberg as the leading champion of the reformed religion. On this journey Luther stopped at Jena, where a young Swiss student, also on his way to Wittenberg, met him, "a solitary horse-soldier, sitting at a table, with a red cap on his head in the fashion of the century, in his vest and hose, having doffed his surcoat, a sword by his side, his right hand on the hilt, and his left grasping the scabbard.

In the town library at Leipzig there is preserved a small portrait of Luther as "Junker Jörg," which, according to Dr. Flechsig, was painted during his fleeting visit to Wittenberg in 1521. He is represented with full beard and moustache, in simple close-fitting dress, with his right hand clasping the hilt of a sword. The picture is not signed, but is surely by the elder Cranach, although the reproduction lately issued by the Berlin Photographic Company only ascribes the painting to an unknown master.

In March 1522, after Luther's arrival at Wittenberg, a woodcut was published which is clearly the work either of Lucas Cranach himself or of some wood-engraver working from an original drawing by Cranach. The portrait is a bust only, in the reverse direction to the painting, and showing less of the body, though with indications of the same costume, and not including the hands. Two editions of this woodcut are known, one inscribed: "Imago Martini Lutheri eo habitu expressa quo reversus est ex Pathmo Witembergam Anno Domini 1522." This was probably a broadside issued to celebrate Luther's arrival in a form suited to the popular demand.

The portrait at Windsor Castle shows a great deal more of the figure, the body extending to below the waist, clad in a dark cloth close-fitting vesture, the hands both shown one above the other in a rather awkward attitude, but suggesting the action of the hands with the sword, as described by Kessler at Jena. The head and hands are less strongly painted than in the portrait at Leipzig, but they have both suffered so

much by injury and repaints that it is difficult to judge of the merits of the portrait in its original condition. Comparison with the Leipzig portrait and the Cranach woodcut leads to the impression that the two latter were done immediately from the same drawing, which had been taken from life by Lucas Cranach, and that the Windsor portrait was a later issue from the Cranach workshop, probably not executed by the elder Cranach himself. Two other portraits of Luther as "Junker Jörg" are described by Schuchardt in his life of Cranach :—

(1) A bust portrait, measuring 2 ft. 7 ins. by 2 ft. 1 in., then belonging to Herr von Schreibenhofen, at Dresden. This portrait is dated 1532, and has the Cranach mark, as used in the workshop by the younger Cranach. In this portrait Luther holds the hilt of his sword in both hands.

(2) A half-figure on a smaller scale, 1 ft. 8 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins., in the Grandducal Library at Weimar. The body is turned to the right, in black clothes, grasping a dagger with the left hand, and pressing it to the breast with the left elbow.

It will be seen that the four oil-paintings mentioned are in no case copies of each other, although they probably all derive from the same original by Lucas Cranach at Wittenberg. Possibly others exist elsewhere. It may be assumed that Luther divested himself of the name and habiliments of "Junker Jörg" as speedily as he could after his arrival at Wittenberg in March 1522, so that no likeness of him in this garb could have been taken from life at a later date.

LIONEL CUST.

MARTIN LUTHER AS "JUNKER JÖRG." BY LUCAS CRANACH. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT WINDSOR CASTLE

XV

ON SOME PORTRAITS ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONIO MORO

IN May 1853 a remarkable collection of paintings of the Spanish school, belonging to Louis Philippe, the exiled King of the French, acquired chiefly from the collection of Mr. Standish, was dispersed at Christie's, when several Spanish portraits were purchased by Queen Victoria. These portraits, which remain for the most part at Buckingham Palace, are of varying interest, but they comprise some few of greater artistic value than may have been supposed at the time of their purchase. Noteworthy among these is a portrait on panel, which bore the name of Prince Albert of Austria, and was attributed to Sir Anthony More. When these portraits were carefully examined and rearranged a few years ago, it was evident that this portrait was wrongly named, and that it really represented Philip II. in his younger days, as Infant of Spain and Duke of Brabant. In view of this interesting discovery, and the fact that Philip is represented wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece, this portrait was among those lent by King Edward VII. to the Exhibition of the Golden Fleece at Bruges in 1907. There the portrait was at once recognised as a true likeness of Philip at the age of twenty-two, and as an early and important work of the painter Antonio Moro of Utrecht.

The name of Antonio Moro, or Sir Anthony More, as he is usually styled in England, has been applied somewhat recklessly to numerous portraits of the later Tudor period, scattered about private collections in England and Scotland. The greater part of these ascriptions is erroneous, though as a matter of fact there are a larger number of original and striking works by this important painter in England than in any other country. A notice of the painter was contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography* by the present writer, in which it was sought to prove that, although the name of Sir Anthony More is so freely used in England, his actual work in this country was confined to his visit and commission to paint the portrait of Queen Mary Tudor in 1553, prior to the queen's marriage to Philip II. Recently an important biography of Antonio Moro has been published, compiled by M. Henri Hymans,[1] formerly so well-known to all students and connoisseurs as the keeper of the Department of Prints, and later as chief librarian of the Royal Library at Brussels. It is, perhaps, fortunate that so important a biography should have been left open for so experienced and so learned a writer as M. Hymans, who has been able to bring into his work a wealth of historical and artistic learning such as few writers can hope to have the opportunity to acquire. We may say shortly that the book amply sustains M. Hymans's reputation, and will for long be the standard work of reference upon a painter and a period of art-history both of which have hitherto received but scanty and superficial attention.

[1] *Antonio Moro, Son Oeuvre et son Temps*, par Henri Hymans. Brussels : G. van Oest. 1910.

Little is known about the birth and parentage of Antonio Moro. Van Mander, who knew personally Moro's children, as well as his pupil Ferreris, could get no information, and M. Hymans, in spite of access to all avenues of documentary research, has been able to add very little to Van Mander's account. Anthony, or Anthonis, Mor was born at Utrecht somewhere about 1519, and was a pupil of the famous painter Jan van Scorel. His own self-portraits in later days show a figure of remarkable distinction, which suggests a parentage of superior degree, but evidence is entirely lacking. He came under the influence of Scorel after the Italianisation of that painter's art, and was strongly affected thereby. A portrait in the Stockholm Museum bears Moro's name and the date 1538 on a label pasted on the back, but is stated to resemble the work of Joost Van Cleef rather than that of Moro. In 1541 there is a painting signed by Moro, now in the Kunstliefde Museum at Utrecht, representing five members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. This belongs to a series of similar paintings intimately connected with the life of Scorel, and to yet another series belongs the double portrait of two Canons of Utrecht, dated 1544, now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin. According to Van Mander, Moro went at an early age to Italy, and visited Rome, as a pupil of Scorel might be expected to do. In 1547 he was received as *franc-maître* in the Guild of St. Luke at Utrecht, under the deanship of Cornelis Floris, on the same day as Abraham Ortelius, the geographer. In September 1548, the Emperor Charles V. came to Brussels from the Diet of Augsburg, and was joined a few months later by his son Philip, then Duke of Brabant and King of Naples, and his sister Mary, Queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands. In attendance on the emperor were Antoine Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, famous in history as Cardinal Granvelle, and Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, immortal in history as the Duke of Alva.

With these dates the career of Antonio Moro may be said to begin. The pages of M. Hymans's biography become a historical record of the deepest interest, and a majestic procession of heroes and heroines pass across the stage, illustrating through the consummate skill of Moro's art those pages of history which have become familiar to modern readers in the fascinating volumes by John Lothrop Motley. It is clear that the painter's first patron was Cardinal Granvelle, and that it was through this patron that he became known to Mary of Hungary, and eventually to Philip, to say nothing of the great emperor himself. M. Hymans tells us that Moro was at Brussels in attendance on Granvelle, that he was in a position to advance money to a fellow artist, that he had assistants, named Conrad Schot and Jan Maes, and that the Spanish painter, Alonso Sanchez Coello, was Moro's pupil at Brussels, Moro being then about thirty years of age. The portrait of Granvelle, painted by Moro at this date, was subsequently owned by Rubens and is now at Vienna. To this date also belong the portrait of Philip at Buckingham Palace, already alluded to, and the almost precisely similar portrait of Philip in the collection of Earl Spencer at Althorp. M. Hymans, in agreement with a recent study of Moro's work by Dr. von Loga of Berlin, is inclined to see in the Althorp version of this portrait, reproduced in M. Hymans's book, the original, and in the Buckingham Palace portrait, here reproduced, a copy by another hand. It is difficult to agree absolutely with this decision, inasmuch as the Buckingham Palace version is in some points executed with such knowledge of modelling and characterisation as to raise it above the rank of a mere copy. The technique, mannerisms, and

PHILIP II. BY ANTONIO MORO. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

JUANA OF AUSTRIA. BY ANTONIO MORO (?) IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

other details are all Moro's own, and the Althorp version seems in the reproduction given by M. Hymans to be lacking in the vitality which pervades the Buckingham Palace version.

In 1550 Moro was back in Rome in the service of Cardinal Granvelle, for whom he executed a copy of Titian's Danaë, but this visit was cut short by a command from Mary of Hungary (as M. Hymans proves, and not by Charles V.) to go to Madrid, and thence to Lisbon, in order to paint the portrait of the King of Portugal's sister, Doña Maria, niece of Charles V., who was then destined to be the second wife of her cousin, Philip. Granvelle, writing to the sculptor Leoni about June 1550, says that "La très pieuse reine a envoyé mon peintre en Portugal." Moro painted this portrait and others of the royal family at Lisbon, and returned to Madrid, where he now became established as the painter of the Hapsburg royal house in Spain. Either before or immediately after his journey to Lisbon he painted Maximilian, King of Bohemia, the future emperor, and in the next year his wife, Mary of Austria, and her sister, Juana, wife of Prince John of Portugal, the daughters of Charles V. Among the Spanish portraits at Buckingham Palace is a good portrait of Doña Juana [see plate], ascribed to Coello, but which is quite in the manner of Moro, and evidently executed at the same time as the portrait of her sister, the Queen of Bohemia, now in the Prado, and reproduced by M. Hymans. For a year or two Moro appears to have been backwards and forwards between Rome, Genoa and Madrid, but in 1553 he was sent on an even more important commission.

M. Hymans shows clearly that it was again on a commission from Mary of Hungary, and not from her brother, Charles V., that Antonio Moro was sent to England to take the portrait of Queen Mary Tudor. The Portuguese marriage had been broken off and a new important alliance promoted by the ambitious regent of the Netherlands. She it was who sent the painter to England, where he painted the world-famous portrait of Mary Tudor, which remained in Mary of Hungary's possession, and subsequently came to the royal family of Spain, and thus to the Prado Gallery at Madrid. This portrait, with its numerous repetitions, is too well known to need any description here. M. Hymans is of opinion that Moro remained in England until the arrival of Philip and the royal marriage at Winchester in 1554. Possibly the Spanish ambassador, Simon Renard, whose portrait Moro painted in 1553, retained him in England, but no portraits of the English court and nobility at this date can safely be ascribed to Moro. M. Hymans quotes two portraits of Sir Henry Sydney and his wife at Petworth, painted in 1553, as by Moro, but there seems to be a serious obstacle to this ascription. Lady Sydney was the daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, protagonist in the short-lived reign of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Mary's deadliest enemy, who had suffered on the scaffold but a short time before Moro's arrival in England. The Sydneys were in disgrace at Court, and though Sir Henry Sydney recovered his position, and was sent as envoy to Spain, where he became high in favour with Philip II., this was not until after Moro's visit. It is difficult to believe that a painter attached to the Spanish embassy could at this date have been employed openly by one who had belonged to Lady Jane Grey's faction.

According to tradition in England, which always speaks of Antonio Moro as Sir Anthony More, the painter was knighted by Queen Mary for his services on this

occasion, but there is no record of this event. He returned, as M. Hymans shows, from England to the Netherlands, taking Queen Mary's portrait to the regent, and painting the regent's portrait on his arrival. In the following year there occurred one of the most dramatic scenes in history, the abdication of the Emperor Charles V. at Brussels, soon to be followed by the division of the empire between his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand. This famous event has been often described. It can hardly be doubted that Moro was present, and from portraits executed by his masterly brush a series of illustrations to the scene could easily be made. William of Orange, on whose arm the weary emperor leaned for support, and who was eventually to wreck the Spanish power in the Netherlands, was twice painted by Moro (at Cassel and The Hague) ; Alva, his renowned rival, also twice (Huntington Collection, New York—from the Townshend Collection—and Brussels) ; Philip II. more than once ; Mary of Hungary, Margaret of Parma, Alessandro Farnese, her son (then a boy, as in the portrait at Parma), Simon Renard, Granvelle—in fact, most of the chief figures in this act of the world's drama have been handed down to us by the art of Moro, just as those of the court of Charles I. are known to us through their portraits by Van Dyck.

Moro was now the painter most in favour with Philip II., and in attendance on his royal patron on more than one occasion in Spain, not merely as a portrait-painter, but as a history-painter, for, as M. Hymans tells us, he was employed by Philip to copy Titian's paintings at Madrid. He appears, however, to have made his actual home in his native town of Utrecht, with his wife, whose Christian name, Metgen, alone is known. He was a man of some wealth and acquired a property, so that he was known as Moro van Dashorst, as was his son, Philip, who became a Canon at Utrecht. He had also at least two married daughters. In 1560 Moro painted his former master, Jan van Scorel, then an aged Canon at Utrecht, who died two years later, when the portrait by Moro was placed above Scorel's tomb as an epitaph. This striking portrait is now in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in London, and M. Hymans is fully justified in claiming comparison between this portrait of Scorel and that of *L'Homme à l'Oeillet* by Jan van Eyck. At Utrecht, Brussels, or Antwerp, Moro found a new patron in Margaret of Parma, now regent of the Netherlands. Both the third and fourth queens of Philip II. were painted by him, Elizabeth of Valois (M. Bischoffsheim's collection) and Anne of Austria (Imperial Gallery, Vienna). In the last years of his life Moro was settled at Antwerp, where he died in 1576, shortly after completing the remarkable portrait of Hubert Goltzius, the antiquary and historian (Brussels Gallery).

Among the portraits painted by Moro, which have formed part of English collections, the most famous are probably those of Sir Thomas Gresham, the famous merchant-prince and founder of the Royal Exchange in London. The fact that at least five important portraits of Gresham can be safely attributed to the hand of Moro has been used as a proof of Moro's continued residence in England. Sir Thomas Gresham without doubt played a large part in the life of Antonio Moro, but not in England. Gresham's active business life was spent as much at Antwerp as in London from about 1550 onwards. He was in communication with the regent, Mary of Hungary and Cardinal Granvelle, Moro's principal patrons, and was one of the principal agents in the Spanish marriage, while he paid at least one visit in 1554 to Spain. The portraits of Gresham by, or attributed to, Moro fall into three groups. The first,

PORTRAITS OF A MAN AND HIS WIFE. BY ANTONIO MORO. IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN AT NEWBATTLE ABBEY

dated 1550, represents him at a fairly advanced age, standing behind a table on which he rests his hands; the portrait now in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg was formerly in Sir Robert Walpole's collection at Houghton, as is well known from an engraving in the Houghton Gallery. M. Hymans points out most justly that the age of the person here represented precludes the possibility of the portrait being that of Sir Thomas Gresham in 1550. The accuracy of this date would seem to be established by the fact that an exact replica of this portrait with the same date exists at Enville Hall, Staffordshire, in the collection of Lady Grey, formerly that of the Earls of Stamford and Warrington. Both the subject and authorship of these interesting portraits must therefore remain a matter of doubt. M. Hymans reproduces the fine portrait by Moro of Sir Thomas Gresham in the National Portrait Gallery, authenticated by a contemporary engraving, of which as good a replica exists in Mercers' Hall, London. He notes that the handsome courtly gentleman here depicted gives a less vivid representation of the merchant prince than does the portrait of Gresham seated in a chair, of which one version is also at St. Petersburg (from the Houghton collection), and another in the possession of Gresham's kinsman and representative, Mr. Granville Leveson-Gower of Titsey Place. Another portrait of Gresham, by Moro, of equal excellence to the others, is in the possession of Sir Audley Neeld, Bart., at Grittleton Park. M. Hymans notes that the arm-chair in which Sir Thomas Gresham is seated, and also his wife, in the companion portraits at St. Petersburg and Titsey, is the same chair shown in the fine pair of portraits by Moro, belonging to the Earl of Yarborough, absurdly named the Earl and Countess of Essex, and the anonymous portrait of a man by Moro, belonging to Earl Amherst at Montreal. The fact of all these portraits having belonged to English collections would naturally lead to the assumption that Moro spent some time as a resident in England. This would seem to be corroborated by the fine and well-known portrait of Sir Henry Lee, belonging to Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, signed and dated 1568; but M. Hymans quotes a document, communicated to him by Viscount Dillon, proving that Sir Henry Lee was at Antwerp in 1568 at the time of the Duke of Alva's cruel government. It is probable that Gresham was the agent who introduced many English sitters to Moro at Antwerp or Utrecht, as Gresham probably acted as banker and general friendly adviser to the English merchants or aristocracy on business or on their travels. The suggestion that the fine portrait of a man in the Brunswick Gallery represents a professor of Oxford University does not appear to be capable of support.

No one can see a portrait by Antonio Moro without being struck by the intense individuality of the painter, and the penetrating seriousness with which the subject is depicted. There is nothing flimsy, nothing superficially pleasing about these portraits. They are masterful renderings of strong natures, and their severity impresses rather than repels. Alva, for instance, reveals his whole character and illustrates his whole history in his two portraits by Moro, while as a delineator of the imperial house of Hapsburg Moro was only surpassed a half-century later by Velazquez. A comparison of the portraits by Moro with those by his pupil, Sanchez Coello, is very instructive. Coello's portraits are simple and straightforward, admirably executed, but seldom very interesting. Where Moro interprets, Coello simply reproduces. In Moro's portraits the richness of the costume is always subordinate to the likeness of the subject; in those by Coello the costume sometimes seems the chief object of interest.

Among the Spanish portraits at Buckingham Palace there are four portraits attributed to Coello; two of these, portraits of the Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, sons of the Emperor Ferdinand I., are typical examples of Coello's work; two others, those of Doña Juana of Austria, here reproduced, and of the young Archduke Wenceslaus of Austria, seem to be by a different hand, and more closely approach the style and mannerisms of Moro. These mannerisms are very obvious, and become, as with most portrait-painters, more marked, and somewhat over-accentuated, as the painter's career progresses. The head is poised at a particular angle, and the ear set rather high on the head as if to escape the high tight-fitting collars then in vogue. The ear also has a tendency to be pointed, rather like a faun's, a very remarkable characteristic of Moro's work. There is a certain nobility, even swagger, in the pose of some of the figures, such as is found later in the portraits by Franz Hals, and if we may judge from Moro's self-portraits, this was an echo of his own personality, as may be seen in the case of Van Dyck.

In the actual technique of his art Moro had, moreover, certain peculiarities, which serve as a guide to the authenticity of his paintings. As a history-painter Moro has left but little mark. It is evident that he executed several paintings of sacred and mythological subjects for his royal patrons and for public commissions at Antwerp and Utrecht. One such painting, signed and dated 1556, reproduced by M. Hymans, is now in a private collection at Nimeguen, but was mentioned by Lampsonius, an intense admirer of Moro's art, and by Vasari. It represents Jesus Christ after His Resurrection between St. Peter and St. Paul, with two angels above. The composition is clumsy, in the heavy Italianised manner of the Utrecht school, and the influence of Titian is very apparent. The body of Christ is, however, well modelled, and evidently a study from the life. Among the subject-paintings by Moro, catalogued in 1621, in the imperial collection at Prague, there is mentioned a picture of St. Sebastian. In the possession of Mr. Lesser there is a remarkable painting of a young man, nude, and holding a bow and arrow, evidently a St. Sebastian. Various painters have been suggested, some northern, some Italian. It has, however, been pointed out by Mr. Roger Fry that a close examination reveals some of the technical mannerisms which are always present in Moro's work and peculiar to him. By the kindness of Mr. Lesser we are able to reproduce this interesting painting. A similar painting, unfortunately in bad condition, is in the collection of the Earl of Darnley at Cobham Hall, showing the same admirable modelling of the nude, studied evidently in both cases from the living model as in the case of the Christ at Nimeguen. As these two versions of St. Sebastian differ from that usually adopted by the Church it may be suggested that they were painted for some of the numerous Archer-Guilds in the Netherlands, of which St. Sebastian was the patron saint. England, as M. Hymans notes, has always been an admirer of Moro's work, and some of the best examples are to be found in British collections, such as those of the Earl of Yarborough, Earl Amherst, Earl Spencer, and Sir Frederick Cook. A remarkable pair of portraits, dated 1551, which are very good examples of Moro's early work, now in the collection of the Marquess of Lothian at Newbattle Abbey, have been reproduced here by permission of the trustees. The National Gallery has only one example of Moro's work, excellent as a painting, but hardly of first-rate importance as an illustration of his art. The publication of M. Hymans's book will surely enhance the reputation of this remarkable painter.

LIONEL CUST.

ST. SEBASTIAN (?)
BY ANTONIO MORO.
COLLECTION OF MR.
LESSER, LONDON.

XVI

THE GREAT PIECE, BY SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK

IN spite of the great repute enjoyed by the famous series of paintings by Sir Anthony van Dyck in the State Apartments at Windsor Castle, the authenticity of some of these paintings has been called into question—in some cases not without reason. The adventures of the paintings executed by Van Dyck for his royal patrons during the Civil War and after the Restoration form a chapter to themselves in the history of the royal collection. The story has been told by Mr. Ernest Law and other writers; but, as questions continue to arise which require attention, especially when relating to the numerous copies, or so-called replicas, it may be of some general interest and advantage to recapitulate in turn the history of each painting, and refer to such copies or replicas as are known and held in any public esteem.

The painting which comes first in date, and perhaps in importance, is the great family group of Charles I., with his queen, Henrietta Maria, and their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary, so familiar to visitors in the Van Dyck room at Windsor Castle. This group appears to have been among the first paintings, if not actually the first, executed by Van Dyck for Charles I. A rough sketch of the composition is in the Print Room at the British Museum, and a small sketch in oil of the complete group, attributed with some reason to Van Dyck himself, is in the Boymans Gallery at Rotterdam. Van Dyck arrived in England in the spring of 1632, and from April 1 to May 21 was the guest of Edward Norgate until a residence was prepared for him, at the king's expense, in the Blackfriars near the river Thames, to which a causeway was built in order that the king and queen might land from their barge and visit the painter direct from their palaces at Whitehall or Somerset (then called Denmark) House. On July 5 of the same year Van Dyck received the honour of knighthood, as "principalle Paynter in ordinary to their Majesties," and on August 8 following a Privy Seal Warrant was issued for payment of an account, "Whereas Sir Anthony Vandike hath by Our Command Made and Presented us with divers pictures." The list of pictures in this account includes "One greate peece of Our royal self, consort and children, 100li." This payment clearly refers to the great family group, which is too well known to need a detailed description. From its size and importance this painting would naturally be a conspicuous feature in the royal palace at Whitehall, where it was placed in the Long Gallery towards the orchard, and is duly entered in the catalogue drawn up for Charles I. in 1639 by Abraham Vander Doort as "No. I. *Imprimis* Done by Sir Anthonie Vandike. Yr M. and Queen, Prince, and Princess Maria, all in one piece, intire figures so big as the life, whereby in a landskip Westminster painted, and one of the Queen's little dogs by. Paynted opon reiht light in a carved and some part gilded frame, 9 ft. 8 by 8 ft." In this entry Vander Doort has made a slight error in that there

are two dogs in the picture, not one only, although the second dog is in certain lights difficult to discern against the yellow silk of the queen's skirt.

The next record in actual date of this painting is an entry from a number of warrants preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 32476, f. 28): "By virtue of an Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament of xx[ist] day of September 1643, These are to will and require you Out of such Threasure as now is or shall be remaining in your hands, to pay unto M[r] Ramee Van Lempitt, Picture Drawer y[e] some of ffiftie pounds, for drawing of y[e] Picture of the King, Queene, and two of their Ma[ties] Children, in one Piece according to y[e] coppie of y[e] Great Peice at Whitehall, by y[e] appointment of y[e] Right hon[ble] Phillip, Erle of Pembroke for his Ma[tie], and for so doing this together with his Acquittance for y[e] Receipt thereof shall be y[or] Warrant & Discharge. And also to y[e] Auditor Generall to allow y[e] same in y[or] accompt. dated at y[e] Comittee of Lords and Commons for his Ma[ties] revenues sitting at Westminster y[e] nineteenth day of August 1647.

"Pembroke Mont. Tho[s] Hoyle.
"P. Wharton. Denis Bond.
"G. W. Holland.

"To our very loving friend Thomas ffaulconbridge Esq. Receiver-General of the Revenew. "(Signed) Van Lempitt Picture Drawer."

Allusion to this copy by Remigius van Leemput will be made hereafter. The origin of this copy may possibly be traced in the Diary of Richard Symonds for December 1652, who relates that "Lord Pembroke gave the St. George by Raphael and begged of the King to have it for a picture of the King and all the Royal Family by Vandyke (which the King promised him) which he designed as a fellow to that great picture of the Pembroke Family painted by Vandyke, but the trouble of the King coming on and the death of Vandyke, prevented its being done." This would seem, however, to refer to a painting of the royal family on a scale as to grouping and number of figures similar to that in the Pembroke family group, then at Durham House in the Strand, now at Wilton.

After the execution or Charles I. in January 1648–9, the affairs of the court were found to be in great disorder, as might have been expected. Salaries and other lawful debts remained unpaid, and it is evident that there was some danger lest violent hands should be laid upon the property of the late king, which had been sequestrated by the new government. The exchequer, moreover, was empty; and the army and the navy, to say nothing of other public expenditure, had to receive attention. Immediately after the king's death, the House of Commons proceeded to vote that the personal estates of the late king, queen, and prince should be inventoried, appraised, and sold, and commissioners were appointed for this purpose. The tragedy of the dispersal of Charles I.'s magnificent collection of paintings needs no retelling here. To make an inventory of so large and scattered a collection, appraise them, to allot them in dividends to various creditors of the state, and finally to deliver them to the said purchasers was a work of difficulty and delay. The appraisement seems to have taken place in the autumn of 1649, but the actual delivery, when it did take place, not until two years later. It would appear that the pictures were removed from the various palaces to Denmark (or Somerset) House, under the care of Mr. Henry Browne, wardrobe-keeper there, and were then appraised. In a list of the "Pictures out of y[e] Beare Gallery and some of y[e] Privy Lodgings at Whitehall" there is entered—"The great peece of Vandyke being very curiously done. To M[r] De Crittz, and others in y[e] 14th Dividend, 60[li]." And in

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THE GREAT PIECE. BY VAN DYCK. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT WINDSOR CASTLE

another list of later date, being "A True Inventery of Severall Pictures now remaining in Somersett House, w^ch^ came from Whitehall and St. James's," there is entered—"The King Queene Prince and Princesse (by Vandyke) 150^li^ sold M^r^ De Crittz & others in a dividend as aprised 23 Oct. 1651."

This latter entry seems certainly to refer to the great family group by Van Dyck, but the former to a separate painting, as it again appears as "The Greate Peice of Van Dyke being very curiously done. Sold to M^r^ Decrittz at the appraised price, 7th Dec. 1651, for 60^li^." This may have been the aforesaid copy by Remigius van Leemput, although only £50 had been paid for it out of public money some two years before. The painting, or the two paintings, passed into the possession, if not into the actual hands, of Emanuel De Critz, the king's serjeant-painter, and a member of a family in which this office had become almost hereditary.

After the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 an order was made by Parliament to "seize any property, goods, pictures, jewels, &c.: which had belonged to the late King, Queen, and Prince." Some of the paintings had gone beyond recall, and now adorn the galleries of Paris, Vienna, and Madrid, but many still remained in the hands of their purchasers, while others appear to have been retained by the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and other officers of state, as furniture in the palaces or houses which had been allotted to them as official residences. Emanuel de Critz, as a loyal subject of the late king, sent in a list of all such pictures or other goods then in his possession or custody, which included "the statue of the King don at Rome by the Cavallier Bernino." This list does not contain any mention of the great family group. On the other hand, the same Emanuel De Critz complained that, contrary to agreement, some of the pictures had been unjustly detained by the Protector, De Critz and his fellow-purchasers having been "great sufferers by the late Gen. Cromwell's detaining thereof." Among these was probably the great painting by Van Dyck, which was likely to be required on account of its size and importance to fill a place on the walls of Whitehall Palace, which had been allotted to Cromwell as the residence of the Lord Protector. Wherever the picture was, it was restored through the agency of Colonel Hawley on August 16, 1661, as "The King and Queen's picture with y^e^ prince by him, and the princesse in y^e^ Queen's Armes being a large peice done by Anthony Van Dike." Van Dyck's great picture then resumed its place at Whitehall, and was handed over to the care of Thomas Chiffinch, who had been appointed keeper of the king's collections.

In April 1667 this painting was hanging in the "Matted Gallery" at Whitehall, where Samuel Pepys saw it, and noted in his diary how "a young man was most finely working in Indian inke the great picture of the King and Queen sitting by Van Dyke: and did it very finely." In 1688 it was catalogued by William Chiffinch, who had succeeded his brother in the care of the king's pictures, among the pictures belonging to James II. at Whitehall in the storeroom between the gallery and the banqueting house, as "By Sir Anthony Vandyck, A large piece of King Charles the First with his Queen sitting, the Prince and Princess Mary in the same piece."

On April 9, 1691, a fire broke out at Whitehall, which, according to one account, "burnt downe the fine Lodgeings rebuilt for the Duchess of Portsmouth, at the end of the Longe Gallery and severall lodgeings and that gallerie." John Evelyn in his diary says that "a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the Stone Gallery at Whitehall to the Waterside, beginning at the apartment of the late Duchess of Portsmouth (which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her). . . ."

The Great Piece, by Van Dyck, was probably among the pictures saved thus hastily from destruction, and was removed by William III. to his new palace at Kensington, where a new gallery, the Stone Gallery, was erected. This gallery was, however, burnt down on November 12, 1691, when the painting probably underwent a fresh danger and rescue from destruction. It remained at Kensington Palace, where an engraving was made for it by Bernard Baron in 1741, and where it subsequently hung as a pendant to Van Dyck's other great painting of Charles I. on Horseback, attended by M. St. Antoine, until the days of George IV., when it was removed to Windsor Castle, and took its place in the so-called Van Dyck room, where it remains at the present day.

Having traced the history of this painting from its execution to the present day, a history which contains some points of conjecture which have been called into question, and to which allusion will be made hereafter, it will now suffice to let the painting as it stands tell its own story. For many years this great painting was covered with a thick coat of darkened varnish, and with dirt and dust, arising chiefly from the tramp of the many thousand visitors who visited the state apartments. After the accession of Edward VII. the pictures in the Van Dyck room were, in 1903, all carefully cleaned and repaired by Messrs. Haines, and the obscuring coats of dust and varnish were removed from the great family group, which was removed at the same time to a better position as regards light. Much of its original beauty was thus rediscovered, and the painting boldly proclaims itself in every way as the original work of Van Dyck himself.

The painting at the present day measures 12 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height and 9 ft. in breadth, but the original size of the canvas was only 6 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height by 8 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in breadth. At a period not very long after the picture was painted, a strip of canvas 2 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height was added at the top, as painted, by another hand, bringing the size up to 8 ft. $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in height. It will be remembered that the painting, when in Charles I.'s collection, measured 9 ft. 8 ins. in height by 8 ft. in breadth, so that these dimensions nearly correspond. The original canvas is a very heavy ticking with an angular mesh, and the painting is very thin in parts on the edges of the rough ticking cloth. At a very much later date the canvas was further enlarged, strips being added as follows: 3 ft. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the top, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. on the left-hand side, 5 ins. on the right, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at the bottom. These later additions are all on a very much finer cloth, with a very even surface. It would seem almost certain that these additions were made in the eighteenth century in order that the painting might balance in size the other great portrait of Charles I. on horseback at Kensington Palace.

The painting, as Messrs. Haines have pointed out, has met with very rough treatment at some early period, which can easily be accounted for by its vicissitudes during the Commonwealth and its escapes from fire at Whitehall and Kensington Palace. Taking the evidence of the painting itself, together with such portions of its history as can be established by facts, there can be little reasonable doubt that the painting now at Windsor Castle is the original painting executed by Van Dyck in 1632 for Charles I.

There are repetitions of this picture which call for consideration. Before considering these it is necessary to take into account the habits which prevailed in the studio of Van Dyck and the circumstances which came into being after his death.

It is well known to all students of art history that Van Dyck, like his great master,

Rubens, and like many other painters, especially those who were dependent upon the favours of a court, was compelled to keep a staff of pupils and assistants at work in his studio to assist him in his numerous commissions, and to supply that share of the work which the painter himself had not the time or inclination to carry out in person, such as replicas or copies, or the first laying-in of a portrait. The hand of such an assistant can be seen in many a portrait of the English period, and sometimes the hand of the master seems entirely absent.

Some of these assistants and copyists are known. From his own country there came David Beck, who returned after his master's death and became court painter in Sweden. Thomas Willeborts, Theodor Boyermans, and Peeter Thys (or Tyssen) of Antwerp, all lent a hand to the execution and multiplication of Van Dyck's portraits. Jan van Reyn of Dunkirk seems to have been one of Van Dyck's most trusted assistants, and to have executed many copies under Van Dyck's own superintendence. From Antwerp also came at the master's bidding Remigius van Leemput, of whom more will be heard hereafter. The assistants were not all foreigners. William Dobson owed his prosperity to an accidental meeting with Van Dyck. His hand can be traced in several of the later portraits issued under Van Dyck's name; and after Van Dyck's death Dobson took his master's place in favour at court and with Charles I. Henry Stone, one of the sons of Nicholas Stone the statuary, excelled particularly in copying Italian masters, and is credited with a number of copies after Van Dyck. James Gandy was a youthful disciple of Van Dyck, and in later years painted copies of Van Dyck's portraits for Irish patrons. Pieter Lely came over from Holland a few months before Van Dyck's death, and is credited with having worked with Van Dyck, though it is possible that Lely only followed in Van Dyck's wake without actual relations to the great painter other than the compliment of simulation. The same may be said of George Geldorp, a personal friend of Van Dyck, with whom he held close relations in England. Adriaen Hanneman also, who has been credited with being a mere assistant of Van Dyck, was an original painter of considerable merit. He carried on the Van Dyck traditions for a few years with great success, and, as he was a neighbour of Van Dyck in his house at Blackfriars, it is not unlikely that he worked as an assistant in Van Dyck's studio, and may have had a hand in completing his pictures after his death. Jan Baptist Gaspars also attempted to carry on the torch which he had received as a follower of Van Dyck. Jan van Belcamp was installed as a copyist in high favour with Charles I., and was entrusted by the king with various commissions for copying the portraits of Van Dyck. Weesop, another Flemish painter, was employed in copying Van Dyck's portraits with great skill, and continued to do so until the execution of the king, when it is stated that he left England in disgust.

It will be seen that even before Van Dyck's death the manufacture of replicas or copies of his portraits was in full progress under the painter's own supervision. From the date of Van Dyck's arrival in England in April 1632, to that of his premature death in 1641, the painter was frequently absent from England, and his stay in this country, taken altogether, amounted only to about six and a half years. It is clear that the mass of pictures attributed to Van Dyck in this country cannot be from his hand, and in many cases the pictures tell their own story as the work of skilled but mechanical copyists, though they are allowed to bear the master's name.

After Van Dyck's unexpected death in December 1641, his affairs fell into great confusion. His young widow and infant child seem to have been helpless, and the king was not in a position to help them. In 1645 Patrick Ruthven, as representing Lady Van Dyck, then deceased, petitioned for help, alleging that Van Dyck's pictures and works of art had been removed and smuggled over to the Netherlands by one Richard Andrew, and asked for an injunction to prevent the remainder from following the same fate. The petition does not appear to have been successful, as it was presented again two years later.

It has been stated that some of Van Dyck's assistants returned to the Netherlands after their master's death. Others remained, such as Van Leemput, Van Belcamp, Weesop, and Henry Stone. During the Civil War and the Commonwealth the fine arts were sadly neglected, and it may be surmised that the opportunities for misusing their talents in copying were not neglected. Geldorp alone is reputed to have had his house full of copies after Van Dyck. At the Restoration the demand for royalist portraits was great, and no doubt the supply was equal to the demand.

Among the numerous copies, or repetitions, of the Great Piece of Van Dyck, the most important is that now hanging in the governor's apartments at the Royal Hospital in Chelsea. The history of this painting has been investigated with great care and industry by Mr. Charles E. Dyas, a pensioner in the hospital, with a view to proving that the painting in Chelsea Hospital is the original painting by Van Dyck, and that at Windsor Castle only a copy.

The history of this painting dates back to an early period in the history of Chelsea Hospital. Among the Pipe Office Rolls (No. 1771) in the Record Office, among the accounts of Lord Ranelagh, paymaster and treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, 1699–1702, is an entry: "Item. Ireton for y^{e} picture of Charles 1st and his children sett up in y^{e} Council Chambers and a frame for the same xlvii^{li} v$^{s.}$ o$^{d.}$." This Ireton, from whom the painting was purchased, was Henry Ireton, son of Henry Ireton the well-known Parliamentary General, who died in 1651, and his wife Bridget, daughter of Cromwell, who married secondly Charles Fleetwood, another Parliamentary General, and died in 1662. Henry Ireton was born shortly before his father's death, and being a child at the time of the Restoration and of his mother's death, was educated abroad, and attached himself to William, Prince of Orange, whom he accompanied to England. In June 1691 he was appointed Equerry and Master of the Horse to William III., and there is nothing to surprise in finding that he was engaged, like his master, in providing pictures for the adornment of Chelsea Hospital. The arrangements for this purpose were under under the direction, in addition to Lord Ranelagh, of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect; his assistant, Hawksmoor, as clerk of works; and Robert Streater, as serjeant-painter to the king. The inscription on the frame at the present day—

"King Charles and his Family
by Van Dyck
painted in 1632,"

is stated to have been placed there under Streater's supervision. In the absence of further positive information, the history of this painting is easy to construct. It has been already stated that, in accordance with a command from Charles I., a copy of the Great Piece, by Van Dyck, had been made in 1643 by his assistant, Remigius van Leemput, presumably in accordance with a promise made to Philip, Earl of Pembroke,

through whose agency Van Leemput received payment of £50 from public money in 1647. It has also been shown that the original painting by Van Dyck, and apparently the copy by Van Leemput also, were sold or allotted to Emanuel De Critz, and that the original painting was recovered by Colonel Hawley for Charles II. at the Restoration. De Critz, who was the third or fourth of his family in succession to hold the office of serjeant-painter to the king, was not reappointed at the Restoration. The office was conferred by Charles II. on Robert Streater, whose brother, Thomas Streater, married the daughter of Remigius van Leemput, and who held the office until 1680, when he was succeeded by his nephew, Robert Streater the younger, who continued as serjeant-painter till 1712, and as such was employed by William III. at Kensington Palace and Chelsea Hospital. Remigius van Leemput died in 1677, and it may be surmised that such of his paintings as were not sold by public outcry, as was then the practice, passed into the possession of his son-in-law, Thomas Streater, and from him to Robert Streater the younger. Among these would have been, in all probability, the copy of the Great Piece by Van Dyck, without a frame, which would be readily available for sale to or through Henry Ireton for Chelsea Hospital at a price lower than that originally paid to Van Leemput for executing the copy.

It has been asserted by Mr. Dyas that the Great Piece by Van Dyck was removed during the Commonwealth from Whitehall to Wallingford House, close by, which was allotted as a residence to General Charles Fleetwood, who had married the widow of Henry Ireton, and that, when Fleetwood was ordered to remove his furniture and effects at the Restoration, this large painting was removed with others to the house of his friend, Sir John Pettus, where it remained concealed, and escaped the notice of the king's emissaries, who raided the house of Sir John Pettus in a search for the late king's property. The presumption follows that the painting passed from General Fleetwood to his step-son, Henry Ireton, who sold it to Chelsea Hospital, whereas it was only the copy by Van Leemput which was recovered by Colonel Hawley and hung in Whitehall, a fraud undetected by the king, whose own portrait appeared in the group, or by any member of the court. To credit this story would be to convict every person connected with the court, including Streater, the serjeant-painter, and Thomas and William Chiffinch, the keepers of the royal collection, either of ignorance and incapacity to identify a picture only some twenty-five years old in the lifetime of the painter's friends and assistants, or of deliberate connivance at a fraud to be repeated a few years later with the full knowledge of William III. and of Sir Christopher Wren.

The painting, however, can tell its own story. In January 1902 it was carefully examined by Messrs. Haines, as it was in need of cleaning and repair. At the request of the present writer Messrs. Haines reported as follows: "The present size of picture is 9 feet 11 inches by 7 feet. The canvas and painting is of the same size as when painted, on four pieces of canvas sewn together before the painting was commenced. . . . It is very carefully and laboriously painted (not with the brush of an original work) but resembles in our opinion the work of a careful copyist, with the tameness one expects from such. In our opinion it is an old (very old) copy without doubt. It does not possess the striking brush-work of Vandyck; this is very noticeable in the folds of the dresses, which are very methodical." The opinion of Messrs. Haines agrees with that of the late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B., who, in a letter addressed to the Governor of Chelsea Hospital on April 4, 1871, stated that "The large picture of Charles Ist and family is excellent, and was doubtless done in Vandyck's studio

under his own inspection." It will be noticed that the dimensions nearly, but not exactly, correspond with those given by Vander Doort. Taking all the evidence into account, especially the relationship between Remigius van Leemput and the Streater family, it may be assumed that the painting at Chelsea Hospital is the copy executed by Van Leemput in 1643, and perhaps commenced at an earlier date in the studio of Van Dyck.

II.—The next copy or repetition of the Great Piece to be noted is the painting in the collection of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G., of Goodwood House. This painting was formerly in the collection of the Duc d'Orléans, in the Palace Royal at Paris, where it occupied a conspicuous position over a chimney-piece in one of the principal salons; and at the dispersal of the great Orleans collection during the French Revolution it was purchased in 1792 by Mr. Hammersley, and became the property of the Duke of Richmond. At Paris an engraving of the queen and child was made in 1786 by Sir Robert Strange, and the whole composition engraved by Massard. It has been suggested that this painting was removed by or for Queen Henrietta Maria. Some colour may seem to be lent to this suggestion by the fact that Henry Browne, Keeper of the Wardrobe and Privy Lodgings at Somerset House, the queen's residence, who seems to have continued to reside there during the Interregnum, when called upon at the Restoration to deliver up the goods belonging to the late king and queen in his possession, stated that "the rest of the goods mentioned in his contracts he was forced to put off for the buying of both their Majesties' pictures done by Sir Anthony Vandyke, and other things of value were sent Her Majesty." There is nothing in this to indicate that Browne was in possession of the Great Piece or family group, which, as has been stated, had been allotted to Emanuel De Critz. The entry seems to refer to separate portraits of the king and queen, or perhaps to the double portrait of the king and queen with the laurel-wreath, now in the possession of the Duke of Grafton at Euston.

Another suggestion has been made: that the Goodwood version was given by Charles II. to his favourite sister, Henriette, Duchesse d'Orléans; but were this the case, it is not likely that the king would have parted with the original painting from the walls of Whitehall Palace without the knowledge of his family and court. A more probable history may be traced as follows: Among the letters preserved in the family of Sir F. Graham (Hist. MSS. Commn., 7th Report, p. 374), is a letter from the Swedish Envoy in London, Sir John Berkman Lyenbergh, dated at Windsor, August 13, 1683, to James Graham, Viscount Preston, British Minister at the court of France. In this Lyenbergh says: "There is an English gentleman, and his Majesty's of Great Brittain's limmener, called Mr. Dixon, who hath made the finest collection of several rare pieces in water-colours of his own drawing, the like never hath been seen in all Europe. Some urgent occasion obliges him to go for France, and therefore resolves to take a dozen or two of them with him to give the Court of France a view of them, for to learn its humour and opinion of such rarities. But whereas it is sufficiently known what a rigour there is used by the farmers of the Customs of France, he most humbly begs your kindness and protection and that by me. . . . He carryeth also with him one great piece of Van Dyke, sold here once for 300*£* sterling, worth to be seen by all Princes in the world. He goeth over Diepen, if your Lordship's Secretary would direct a line or two for his direction to Mad[e] Le Jeune, that he may know your pleasure you will highly oblige him. . . ."

Now unfortunately for the said Mr. John Dixon, who styled himself limner to His Majesty, the little that is know of him shows him to have been a very needy man of indifferent character. There is reason to suppose also that the Swedish Envoy was in financial difficulties during his residence in England. There is a familiar ring about the whole transaction, and its honesty should be treated with the greatest doubt. It may be assumed, however, that the Swedish Envoy's request was granted by Lord Preston, and that Dixon had an opportunity of submitting his wares for the inspection of the French court, and it is not unreasonable to surmise that the "great piece of Van Dyke" was purchased by the Duc d'Orléans, and passed off as an original.

Here, again, the painting at Goodwood tells its own story. It is a careful and laborious painting, similar to that at Chelsea Hospital. It is apparently painted on one original canvas, the dimensions being 10 ft. by 7 ft. 8 ins., which, it may be noted, slightly exceed those of the painting at Chelsea Hospital and do not correspond with those of the original as given by Vander Doort.

III.—A third copy or repetition of the Great Piece is in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., now at Chatsworth. This painting was formerly at Chiswick Villa, among the pictures collected by Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington. Like the two preceding, it is a careful contemporary copy of considerable merit. It was probably purchased abroad by the Earl of Burlington, and it should be noted that during the eighteenth century a copy of the Great Piece by Pieter Thys, or Tyssen, one of Van Dyck's assistants, was seen at Antwerp.

IV.—Another full-sized version of the Great Piece, belonging to Sir Theophilus Biddulph, Bart., was at Delamore House, Ivybridge, Devon. Tradition states that this painting was given to the present owner's ancestor, the first baronet, by Charles II. This, like the preceding, is a careful and laborious painting, probably executed by one of Van Dyck's immediate pupils.

It would be unnecessary to enumerate or dilate upon the numerous later and inferior copies of the Great Piece, or portions of it, which are scattered about the mansions of England, with the name of Van Dyck and the necessary traditions attached in each case. They belong to a category quite different from the four paintings described above, and are easy to distinguish. A copy of the group alone was lately in the possession of a London dealer, and was sold to an American collector as a genuine work by Van Dyck. A similar group is in the collection of Viscount Galway at Serlby Hall. Paintings of the king and Prince Charles alone from this group are at Somerley, Newbattle Abbey, Northwick House, and elsewhere. One of the queen and princess alone is at Bothwell Castle. This list by no means exhausts the number of copies, great and small, of the famous Great Piece by Van Dyck which are to be met with in private collections.

LIONEL CUST.

XVII

THE EQUESTRIAN PORTRAITS OF CHARLES I. BY VAN DYCK

IN the preceding article an account was given of the Great Piece, by Sir Anthony van Dyck, in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle, which represents Charles I. with his queen and his two eldest children, painted in 1632. Allusion was made to the number of supposed replicas or copies of this and other paintings by Van Dyck, made either under his own supervision, or by his assistants after his death, or at later dates. So much ignorance and perversion of the truth still obtains as to the authenticity of paintings by Van Dyck in England, that it may be worth while to deal further with the subject, so far as relates to the other paintings by him in the royal collection. In most cases little remains to be added to the exhaustive account of each picture given by Mr. Ernest Law in his important work on Van Dyck's pictures at Windsor Castle.

After the Great Piece, the next most important painting in the royal collection is the famous Portrait of Charles I. on a white horse, attended by M. St. Antoine, which hangs as a pendant to the Great Piece at Windsor Castle. This portrait is too well known to need any description, and its history is well given by Mr. Law. Since he wrote, however, the picture has undergone a careful surface-cleaning by Messrs. Haines, which resulted in the discovery of the date 1633 on the base of the pillar on the left of the picture. It was therefore probably one of the " nine pictures of our royall self and most dearest consort the queene lately made by him," for which the painter received payment May 1633. This picture hung in St. James's Palace in the " three-sided gallery," where it was seen in 1638 by the Sieur de la Serre, one of the suite of the queen's mother, Marie de' Medicis, who was lodged there during her visit to England. The picture was still hanging in St. James's Palace in 1650, when it was among the pictures appraised by direction of the Parliamentary Government and sold for £200, the purchaser being given as Mr. Balthazar Gerbier. There is no evidence to show if Gerbier himself, one of the shiftiest of men, ever received or paid for the picture. At all events, it never seems to have left St. James's Palace, for after the Restoration in 1660 it was " discovered " by Geldorp, the painter, in the possession or under the charge of " Mr. Remie " at " St. Jaems in the gallery." It was not removed by Charles II. to Whitehall, but seems to have remained in St. James's Palace until it was removed by William III. to his new palace at Kensington ; in later days it was again removed to Windsor Castle, where it now hangs. The picture has, therefore, never left the royal palaces.

This painting is probably the best piece of work done by Van Dyck in England. The motive is obviously not new. The picturesque dignity of a cavalier on a white horse had already been well illustrated in the famous portrait of Anton Giulio,

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CHARLES I. ON A WHITE HORSE. BY VAN DYCK. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT WINDSOR CASTLE

Marchese Brignole-Sala, in the Palazzo Rosso at Genoa. A sketch in oils for the white horse alone is in the collection of Earl Brownlow at Ashridge. A study of a rider on a white horse is among the group of three riders in the brilliant oil-sketch by Van Dyck at Buckingham Palace. The same motive was used in the equestrian portrait of Francisco d'Aytona, Marquès de Moncada, commander-in-chief of the Spanish Forces in the Netherlands, painted by Van Dyck at Brussels in 1634, which painting is now in the Louvre at Paris. In each case Van Dyck appears to have used the same study of the white horse. It is not necessary to suppose that Charles I. ever bestrode or even perhaps possessed a horse of this description. This picture is a studio composition after the painter's own heart, full of some of his most brilliant motives.

The painting at Windsor appears to be entirely the work of Van Dyck's own hand, at least so far as the more important features of the composition are concerned. This may be said of all the pictures painted for Charles I. by Van Dyck. There was no better judge of painting than the king, and it is known that the king and queen used to visit the painter in his studio at Blackfriars and had a special causeway built in order to give the royal party private access from the river. It may also be said with some degree of certainty that no other version of this celebrated painting has any real claim to be the handiwork of Van Dyck himself. The only version which has any title to a claim is that still at Hampton Court Palace, which was attributed to Van Dyck at the sale of the king's pictures in 1649–50, when it was valued at £40 only, being one-fifth of the valuation set upon the original painting by the same appraisers. This painting, which seems never to have been removed from Hampton Court Palace, is very inferior in execution to the Windsor painting, and rather smaller in dimensions. The small version of the portrait, represented in a landscape, now in the Prado Gallery at Madrid, may possibly have been a present from the queen to her sister in Spain, but is hardly worthy in itself of the painter's own brush.

It has been stated above that the original painting by Van Dyck was "discovered" in 1660 in St. James's Palace in the possession of Mr. Remie, otherwise Remigius van Leemput, one of Van Dyck's principal assistants. In the history of the Great Piece by Van Dyck allusion was made to Van Leemput's notorious skill in copying his master's work. When one finds an important painting like the great equestrian portrait of Charles I. under the care of a man like Van Leemput in St. James's Palace, it is only reasonable to suppose that during the ten years since this painting was nominally sold and in seclusion, a skilled copyist like Van Leemput would have had ample time to make more than one full-sized copy. There is a story that Remigius van Leemput tried to negotiate the sale of the original picture in Flanders for 1500 guineas. This story, if true, would seem to indicate that Van Leemput had tried to palm off one of his own copies as the original work of Van Dyck, but without success. At all events the original painting was recovered from him not without some difficulty and objection on his part.

It would be unnecessary to enumerate all the various copies, large or small, of this celebrated painting, which are, or were, to be found in private collections in England. Most of these have had the legend attached to them that they were given by the king to the family in reward for their services to the royal cause, and most of them are attributed to the hand of Van Dyck, regardless of the fact that the painter

died before the Civil Wars broke out. It would appear, moreover, that when the king wished to bestow a portrait for some official purpose, he for some years commissioned a portrait by Mytens, and did not run to the expense of Van Dycks for this polite duty, except in the case of royal gifts. Of these many copies the best known, perhaps, are those at Apsley House, purchased by Earl Cowley, when ambassador in Spain; at Warwick Castle, formerly in the Waldegrave collection; at Middleton Park; and that formerly at Newstead Abbey, said by tradition to have been presented by Charles I. to Sir John Byron, subsequently sold to Sir John Borlace-Warren of Stapleford, and recently in the collection of the late Mr. James Smith of New York. This last-named version is a good instance of the above-mentioned tradition. Sir John Byron, to whom, according to the tradition, the picture was given by Charles I., took a prominent part in the Civil War and fought gallantly for the royal cause at Edgehill, Chester, Marston Moor, and elsewhere, until 1646, when he went into exile at Paris, where he died in 1652, leaving no children. We learn, however, from Pepys, that Byron's second wife, Eleanor Needham, was "the king's seventeenth mistress abroad." This lady may well have persuaded Charles II. to give her a copy of this portrait of Charles I. Judging from the numerous existing traditions in royalist families as to similar gifts, we may readily suppose that Charles II. found it useful to bestow such portraits of his martyred father on those, or the children of those, who had risked their lives and futures in the royal cause.

Van Leemput was by no means the only painter capable of making such copies; Henry Stone, who died in 1653, was noted for his copies after Van Dyck. Vertue notes that:

"Mr. Davison a good ingenious painter haveing copeyd the great picture of K. Charles first on horseback with the gentleman carrying the helmet of the King being Mons de St. Antoine—from this copy Sympson did grave the print not the original"; this Mr. Davison was the well-known Scottish painter, Jeremiah Davison.

In conclusion, it may be repeated that the painting of Charles I. on a white horse at Windsor Castle is the only version which can be attributed to the hand of Van Dyck himself.

It is now time to investigate the history of the great painting of Charles I. on horseback in the National Gallery, the smaller version of the same portrait at Buckingham Palace, and other repetitions of the same composition.

The portrait at Buckingham Palace should be noticed first, as it appears to be the earliest in date of execution. It is painted on canvas, and measures at present 3 ft. 2 ins. high by 2 ft. $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide. It has been often reproduced, but is given here again in order that the slight discrepancies between the picture and the larger version in the National Gallery may be evident. This painting is without doubt identical with that described by Vander Doort in the catalogue of King Charles I.'s collection at Whitehall in 1639 as "placed at this time in the King's chair room, in the privy gallery." In the edition of the catalogue transcribed by George Vertue from the manuscript in the Ashmolean Collection at Oxford, and printed by Bathoe, the painting is entered as "No. 3. Done by Anthony Vandike./ Item. The King on horseback, upon a yellow horse, one following him carrying his head-piece, which was the model whereby the great picture was made; in a carved all over gilded frame. 3 f. 2./2 f. 0." In another manuscript of the same catalogue (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 10,112), apparently in the writing of Vander Doort himself, the painting is entered somewhat differently, but as

CHARLES I. BY VAN DYCK. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

CHARLES I. BY VAN DYCK. IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY

in the chair room at Whitehall: "No. 2. Done by Sir Antony Van Dike being the first moddell of ye King the Greate on Horseback w^{ch} is at y^{is} time in ye Princes' Gallery at Hampton Court./ The King upon a dunn horse, one following His Majesty carrying his head corsage, w^{ch} was y^{e} moddell wereby y^{e} greate picture was made in a carved and all over-gilded frame./ 3 ft. 1″/2 ft. 10″." In a copy of Bathoe's printed catalogue in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, which belonged formerly to Horace Walpole, Walpole has added in his own handwriting a note: "This picture is at the Escurial, having been purchased by Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Embassador. See *De Piles*, p. 367." This statement by Walpole is clearly a mistake, for among the pictures recovered at the Restoration was "The King on Horseback upon a dunn horse, by Van Dicke" (see Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17,916, f. 65). In 1688 it was at Whitehall, "above stairs in the new Lodgings in store," and is catalogued by Chiffinch among James II.'s pictures as "No. 359. King Charles the First, upon a Dun horse." Its subsequent history, and notes of various copies or repetitions which exist, have been well given by Mr. Ernest Law in his book on *Pictures by Van Dyck at Windsor Castle*. There is little to add to Mr. Law's exhaustive account, except that the picture seems to have been a favourite subject for copyists while at Kensington Palace, and that an interesting copy by Gainsborough was not long ago exhibited at Messrs. Shepherd's gallery in King Street. The picture now in the Prado Gallery at Madrid, probably the version alluded to by Walpole, is only reckoned in these days to be a school copy.

The original entries quoted all state that the painting now at Buckingham Palace was the model by which the great piece was made, the difference in the breadth of the picture, as given in the extracts, being due probably to a printer's error by Bathoe. This great piece cannot well be other than the famous painting now in the National Gallery, which was purchased from the Duke of Marlborough's collection at Blenheim Palace in 1885. This huge painting is too well known to need any description here. Well known as it is, the history of this picture has been given incorrectly, and in its earlier stages must still remain a matter of conjecture. The only picture of the sort catalogued by Vander Doort in 1639 was the portrait of Charles I. on a dun horse, as described above. The famous portrait on a white horse, described in a previous article, was hanging in St. James's Palace, where the pictures do not seem to have been catalogued by Vander Doort.

At the valuation and disposal of the king's pictures in 1649 and the following years, there appears to have been three equestrian portraits of the King, valued as follows (as given in Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 4898 and 7352) :—

Pictures out of y^{e} Beare Gallery and some of y^{e} Privy Lodgings at Whitehall.
The great peece of Vandyke being very curiously done.
To Mr. De Crittz and others in y^{e} 14th Dividend £60
Picture in y^{e} gallery (in Somersett House w^{ch} came from Whitehall and St. James's)
King Charles on Horseback, done by Sir Anthony Vandyke. Sold Mr. Balthazar Gerbier, 21 June, 1650, for £200 ... ... £200
Pictures now remaining at Hampton Court, October, 1649.
King Charles on Horseback (by Vandyke). Sold Mr. Bolton, 22 Nov., 1649, for £40 ... ... £40

Of these entries the last two have been shown in the preceding article to refer to the great equestrian portrait at Windsor Castle and the copy now at Hampton Court, which

was sold in 1649 to a Mr. Boulter (or Bolton), a merchant in Foster Lane, and a creditor of the king.

No specific mention is made of the painting of Charles I. on a Dun Horse, as catalogued by Vander Doort. There is nothing to show which was the "great peece . . . very curiously done," but it is hardly reasonable to suppose that in a valuation, which shows much discrimination throughout, a painting of the size and importance of the Blenheim Charles I. should only be valued at £60, whereas the Windsor portrait of equal dimensions was valued at £200. The valuation, indeed, accords with that placed on paintings by Van Dyck of a lesser size, such as The Three Children of Charles I., or, if it denotes the Charles I. on a Dun Horse at all, it should denote the model at Buckingham Palace and not the great picture now in the National Gallery. At Hampton Court Palace, moreover, there is no record of any room being known as the Prince's Gallery at so early a date. The picture also is clearly stated to have been removed from Whitehall for valuation, and not from Hampton Court Palace.

Facts would seem to prove that the National Gallery picture could not have been in the royal collection at all. It was purchased by the Government, as is well known, from the collection of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace, and was one of the pictures acquired by the great duke during his campaign in the Netherlands. On November 8, 1706—on which day he arrived at Rotterdam—Marlborough wrote to his Duchess in England, saying :—

"I am so fond of some pictures I shall bring with me that I could wish you had a place for them till the gallery at Woodstock be finished, for it is certain there are not in England so fine pictures as some of these, particularly King Charles on Horseback, done by Vandyke. It was the Elector of Bavaria's and given to the Emperor, and I hope it is by this time in Holland."

This letter, to which attention was first called by Peter Cunningham in the *Builder* for February 20, 1864, led him into the erroneous statement that the picture was acquired by Marlborough "at Munich, through money and cajolery," a statement repeated by Sir George Scharf in his catalogue of the pictures at Blenheim Palace, and adopted by Mr. Ernest Law and in the catalogue of the National Gallery. The picture was, however, never at Munich, and Marlborough was not at Munich during the campaigns of 1706–8, when his headquarters were for the most part at The Hague. The picture formed part of the royal or imperial collection at the palace of Tervueren, near Brussels, where the pictures belonging to the regents of the Netherlands, the Archduke Albert, and the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, as well as of their successor the Archduke Ferdinand, Cardinal Infant of Spain, were preserved up to the time of the dispute as to the Spanish succession, a dispute which had, as it would appear, important bearings on the history of this picture.

At the death of Charles II., King of Spain, in 1700, his vast possessions were divided among various claimants. His next heirs were the children of his two sisters, of whom the elder had married her first cousin, Louis XIV., King of France, and the younger, another first cousin, Leopold I., Emperor of Germany. The latter's daughter married the Elector of Bavaria, and it was her son, the Electoral Prince, to whom, by the first Partition Treaty of October 1698, the sovereignty of Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands was assigned. The electoral Prince, however, died in 1699, before the King of Spain, so that a second Partition Treaty was required, by which the sovereignty of Spain and the Netherlands was assigned to the Archduke Charles of

Austria, younger son of the Emperor Leopold by his second wife, to the exclusion of the younger son of Louis XIV., and of the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, whose son was another claimant to a share in the imperial inheritance. Hence arose the wars of the Spanish succession, during which the Netherlands became, as it were, the cockpit of Europe. Brussels saw many owners during these troubled times, and the pictures and works of art in the royal palaces were the prey of successive invaders. Marlborough's victory at Ramillies in May 1706 drove the French for a time out of the Netherlands, and, entering Brussels as a conqueror, Marlborough proclaimed the Archduke Charles there as Charles III., King of Spain. In 1708 the French again invaded the Netherlands, and, in the campaign which raged round about Brussels, Marlborough, aided by General Cadogan, gained the great victory of Oudenarde, and again entered Brussels as a conqueror, where he was treated as such by the Council and Deputies of State who then governed that city.

In 1705 Marlborough had received by Act of Parliament a grant of the palace and manor of Woodstock, on the site of which Blenheim Palace was subsequently erected. During his campaigns in the Netherlands the duke neglected no opportunities for acquiring pictures to adorn the gallery, which was to be a feature of the new palace. The pictures in the palace at Tervueren were practically ownerless, and the Emperor Joseph I., whose debt to Marlborough's military skill was incalculable, was, no doubt, glad to put the pictures at the conqueror's disposal. If the dates be correct Marlborough had already made his selection from Tervueren in November 1706, when he wrote to the duchess about the portrait of Charles I., by Van Dyck, but as the new house was not ready to receive the pictures, it was not until May 1708 that the duke, then at Brussels, sent General Cadogan to Tervueren to bring up certain pictures to the royal palace at Brussels for inspection. From these, according to information kindly supplied by M. Henri Hymans, formerly Chief of the Royal Library at Brussels, the duke and the general selected five pictures by Van Dyck and Rubens to be retained, for which a receipt was given by Cadogan to M. Le Roy, the superintendent of the Chateau of Tervueren. The whole transaction seems to have been carried out with ceremony and care, and in no way to have been due to "money and cajolery," as Marlborough's enemies evidently wished to make out.

The two paintings by Van Dyck thus selected by Marlborough were his British Majesty Charles Stuart and a Queen of England. The latter was evidently the portrait of Henrietta Maria in a white dress and pink ribbons, similar to that at Windsor Castle; it was purchased at the Blenheim sale in 1885 by Lord Wantage, and is now at Lockinge Park. The Portrait of Charles I. must be the picture now in the National Gallery. It had belonged, perhaps, to the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, who sent her portrait as a gift to Charles I. and may have received his portrait in exchange. It was, however, probably a gift by similar interchange of portraits to the Archduke Ferdinand, the Cardinal Infant, who succeeded Isabella as regent of the Netherlands, and made his official entry into Brussels in 1634, at which Van Dyck was present. It is clear that the portrait of Charles I. was in the possession of Ferdinand at Brussels, for it was copied almost exactly by Gaspar de Crayer, the archduke's court painter at Brussels, the archduke's portrait being substituted for that of Charles I.; this copy is now in the Louvre at Paris. As the Archduke Ferdinand died in 1641 the original portrait must have been in the royal collection at Tervueren before that date. It is just possible that it may have been at Hampton Court Palace in 1639, as stated in Vander Doort's original draft

catalogue, quoted above, but as this statement does not occur in other manuscripts of the same catalogue, it was either a clerical error of Vander Doort's, in confusion with the second version of the Charles I. on a white horse, which seems to have been always at Hampton Court, or else it was in 1639 that the picture was sent over as a present to the regent of the Netherlands, whose portrait as Cardinal Infant of Spain was among those in Charles I.'s collection at the time of its disposal in 1649.

It should be noted, as Mr. Ernest Law pointed out, that in the original portrait at Buckingham Palace the words on the tablet are CAROLUS REX MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, whereas on the large picture in the National Gallery the inscription runs CAROLUS I REX, the addition of the I could hardly have been added during the king's lifetime. Certain other alterations are obvious in the National Gallery picture. The king's figure is slightly reduced in size, to the advantage of the picture as a whole, but hardly to that of the king, since the weight and importance of the heavy Flemish *cheval du manège* is thereby enhanced. The king's features have been corrected, and the vizor of the helmet is closed. The landscape background is more decidedly Titianesque, and the whole pictorial effect seems to be based in friendly rivalry on the great equestrian portrait of Charles V. at the Battle of Mühlberg, by Titian, which Van Dyck must have seen in the imperial collection at Brussels.

It would appear, therefore, to sum up, that the picture was a commission from Charles I. to Van Dyck; that the original study was retained by the king, but the great piece, or amplified painting, was sent as a present either to the archduchess, or to the Cardinal Infant, as regent of the Netherlands, probably to the latter, as the style of painting indicates a rather later date than 1634, the year in which Isabella died; and that it remained in the palace at Tervueren until it was handed over to the Duke of Marlborough.

LIONEL CUST.

THE TRIPLE PORTRAIT OF CHARLES I. BY VAN DYCK. IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

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XVIII

THE TRIPLE PORTRAIT OF CHARLES I. BY VAN DYCK AND THE BUST BY BERNINI

THERE is no more familiar story in the history of Art than that of the marble bust of Charles I., which was executed at Rome by the famous sculptor Bernini. Yet the story of this bust may be said to begin in legend and to end in mystery. Evidence is even lacking to denote the exact motive which inspired the art-loving king to wish to have his bust executed by Bernini, or the exact date at which the commission was first given. Even the famous triple portrait by Van Dyck, now at Windsor Castle, is not dated, so that the exact year of execution must be taken on surmise. It must have been executed before 1638, for in that year the bust had been completed and delivered to the king in England. Probably it was executed in 1636, the date of the noble full-length portrait of Charles I. in his robes of state, now in St. George's Hall at Windsor Castle, in which the head of the king closely resembles that in the triple portrait.

The triple portrait has been often described, often exhibited, and is seen by thousands of visitors to the State Apartments of Windsor Castle during the course of each year. It needs therefore no description here, no allusion to the famous jewel of the Order of the Garter, which has lately been the subject of a complete book to itself, or of the equally famous pearl earring, which is one of the treasures preserved at Welbeck Abbey. The idea of a triple portrait showing a face in three different positions was not an invention of Van Dyck, who, with all his great qualities and his magnificent style, seldom displayed any originality in composition. Lorenzo Lotto had done the same thing in his portrait of an unknown Venetian in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Philippe de Champaigne had done it in the well-known triple portrait of Cardinal Richelieu, now in the National Gallery. There is no evidence that either Lotto or Philippe de Champaigne were painting for the use of a sculptor, although the result aimed at would be the same, to enable a person, who could not see the original, to study the physiognomy of the person portrayed from three principal points of view. The triple portrait by Van Dyck was duly despatched to Italy, and reached Bernini in safety. The strange foreboding of the sculptor on seeing the portrait is historical, if only legendary. Bernini executed the commission with reasonable rapidity, and is said to have been paid one thousand crowns, and the bust was duly forwarded to England and delivered in safety to the king. Lovers of mystery and believers in fatality will again meet legend in the stains of the drops of blood from a wounded partridge, which stained the fair white marble of the bust before it reached the king's hands. It is sufficient to say that the bust was safely delivered, and gave so much satisfaction that the queen determined to have a bust of herself also made by Bernini. The queen's own letter to Bernini commanding the bust existed until a

century or so ago, and may exist still. In this letter, which is printed in Baldinucci's life of Bernini, the queen says that the pictures will be delivered by a M. Lomes. They never, however, left the country, and appear to have remained in the queen's house during the civil war. They are alluded to specifically in an account presented by Van Dyck to the king, in which the prices were altered by the king's own hand. Van Dyck had been employed to paint the queen, not in one portrait, but in three separate portraits. One of the profile portraits had already, when the queen wrote, been given to the Earl of Denbigh, and remains in the possession of the present earl.

In order to complete the history of this portrait, it should be said that the triple portrait of the king remained in the possession of Bernini's descendants in the Palazzo Bernini at Rome until 1796, when it was sold to Mr. Irvine, a dealer, and through him to Mr. Buchanan, the well-known dealer, who brought it to England and sold it to Mr. Champernowne, a noted collector, who passed it on to another collector, Mr. Walsh Porter. From him it passed to Mr. Wells of Redleaf, was exhibited at the British Gallery in 1821, and in 1822 became the property of King George IV., from whom it has descended to the present sovereign. The picture was engraved in 1816 by William Sharp, and was exhibited at the Van Dyck Exhibition at Antwerp in 1899. It has been frequently reproduced. As the picture was in Italy from the date of execution up to 1796 it is clear that no copies of it could have been executed in England before the latter date. Such copies as do exist, such as that at Newbattle Abbey belonging to the Marquess of Lothian, must have been done either at Rome, or after its return to England, before it entered the royal collection.

Returning to the history of the marble bust, it is evident that Bernini attached great importance to this commission. By a fortunate chance Nicholas Stone the younger, son of Nicholas Stone, the famous sculptor and tomb maker in London, was in Rome in October 1638, and appears to have been working in the studio of Bernini. Stone fortunately kept a diary, now preserved in the British Museum, in which he has recorded a conversation which he had with Bernini upon the subject of the bust of Charles I. [Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS., 4049].

"Being in a very good umour he askt me whether I had seene the head of marble, which was sent into England for the King, and to tell him the truth of what was spoken of itt. I told him that whosoever I had heard admired itt, nott only for the exquisitenesse of the worke but the likenesse and nere resemblence itt had to the King's countenance. He sayd that divers had told him so much, but he culd nott believe itt. Then he began to be very free in his discourse, to aske if nothing was broke of itt in carryage and how it was preserved now from danger. I told him that whenas I saw itt that all was hole and safe, the which, saythe I, I wonder att. But I tooke, saythe he, as much care for the packing as studye in making of itt. Also I told him that now it was preserved with a case of silke. He desyred to know in what manner. I told him that it was made like a bagg gather'd together at the top of the head and drawne together with a string under the body with very great care. He answered he was afraid that would be the cause to breake itt, for sayes he, in my time of doing itt I did cover itt in the like manner to keepe itt from the flyes, but with a great deale of danger, because in taking off the case, if itt hangs att any of the little lockes of hair, or on the work of the band, itt would be presently defaced, for it would greve him to heare itt was broke, seeing he had taken so great paines and study on it."

Bernini then went on to give his views to Nicholas Stone upon the disadvantages of a marble bust as a portrait, ending up by saying that "I conclude that itt is the impossiblest thinge in the world to make a picture in stone, naturally to resemble any person." From this source also it appears that Van Dyck's painting had been taken to Rome by a Mr. Baker, and that Bernini had made a bust of this gentleman. This bust came into the possession of Sir Peter Lely, and was bought after his death by Henry Grey, Duke of Kent, from whom it passed by inheritance to Philip Yorke, second Earl of Hardwicke, from whom it descended to the present Lord Lucas, and is now at 4 St. James' Square, but lately the property of the Marquess of Anglesey. The hair is, as described at the time, "in prodigious quantity, and incomparably loose and free, the pointband very fine." Mr. Baker is perhaps identical with the English cavalier who is also recorded as having persuaded Bernini to make his bust, on which, when it had got as far as the mould, an interdict was laid by Bernini's patron, Pope Urban VIII., who would not allow any bust but that of Charles I. to be sent to England. Bernini, however, determined to make the bust from the life in order to show the contrast between a bust so made and one made only from a painting.

Bernini in the above conversation did himself an injustice. Since his style in sculpture was certainly rather picturesque than monumental, *barocco* rather than classical, it is not surprising that he should have felt himself cribbed and fettered by the limitations of a bust. Nothing would have probably surprised him more than to be told that it was in his busts that he showed himself a really great sculptor, and that his great columns and grandiose figures in St. Pietro, however well and truly adapted to the building, could at any time be criticised and even condemned as inartistic and deficient in taste.

Leaving Bernini for the present the bust can be followed to England, where it must have arrived early in 1638. It would appear to have been first received by the Earl of Arundel at Greenwich, as it was there that its traditional staining with blood is supposed to have occurred. Stone has narrated how much it was valued by the king and queen, and how that it was kept for safety in a silk bag. It would appear that it was kept at Greenwich, for it was catalogued in the Inventory taken by the Commonwealth among the "Statues at Greenwich" as "The late King's head, p' Cavalier Berneno—valued at £800." The bust does not appear in a very exhaustive illustrated catalogue of the busts and other marbles at Whitehall, taken about the same time, and now preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. From other documents it appears that the bust was sold, with other works of art, to Emanuel de Critz, son of the king's sergeant painter, "for part of whose debt they came to him in ye yeare 1651." De Critz himself reports at the Restoration that he has in his possession "that incomparable head in marble of ye late King's, done by Cavaleere Berneeno, sold to me for £800, with £80 advanced thereon." The bust, thus recovered for the king, was placed in the palace at Whitehall, and remained there until the last of the disastrous fires which destroyed successively so much of that royal palace.

On January 4, 1697–8, a Dutchwoman, employed as laundress in Whitehall, while airing some linen at a charcoal fire, set her room on fire and perished in the flames. The fire spread rapidly through the old rooms of the palace, and "before midnight the King's and the Queen's apartments had been destroyed." As King

William and Queen Mary had already transferred their residence to Kensington Palace, it is probable that the bulk of the pictures had already been removed, and that nothing remained but fixtures. Some large and important pieces of sculpture were saved, but the marble bust of Charles I. disappears from view from the date of this fire.

George Vertue, indefatigable in his attempts to recover information about the history of the arts in England from contemporary evidence, elicited a variety of useful details about the fate of the bust. Cooper, a printseller, told him, on the authority of one Norrice, frame maker to the court, who was present at the fire, that the bust used to stand over a corner chimney in a room, but was removed before the fire reached that room. Lord Cutts, captain of the king's bodyguard, who was on duty with the Coldstream Guards, blew up this part of the palace, but not until there had been plenty of time to remove the bust. Sir John Stanley, deputy-chamberlain, saw the fire from Craig's Court, where he was dining, about 3 P.M., and, going over to the palace at once, found Sir Christopher Wren there with his workmen. Sir John begged Sir Christopher to take care of Bernini's bust, but seems to have got snubbed for his interference with Wren's authority. Norrice, the frame maker, dug in the ruins afterwards, but could find no traces of the bust. It is clear from this that all these individuals were aware of the importance of saving the bust, but it was never seen again from that day to the present. Perhaps Lord Cutts, in his hurry, blew up the room before the bust had been removed; perhaps it was removed and set down in another part of the palace, where it was destroyed, and its remains unnoticed, as no one made a search for it anywhere else than in the room where it was known to have been.

Various busts have been credited at different times with being the long-lost bust by Bernini. Most of these are busts in a kind of sham Roman armour and Italian conceit, the work, perhaps, originally of Fanelli or Le Sueur, all executed in a tighter and more wooden style than that of the existing busts known to be by Bernini.

A few pieces of evidence may be said to give some idea of this famous bust by Bernini.

In Sir John Soane's Museum there is an interesting album of architectural drawings, composing a series of original studies by Sir Christopher Wren for chimney pieces at Hampton Court Palace. One of these chimney-pieces is depicted with a bust of Charles I. over the mantel. It is not a corner chimney-piece, but it may be assumed with some degree of certainty that this chimney-piece is a reminiscence from that at Whitehall, of which Bernini's bust formed so conspicuous an ornament. It has been stated clearly that Sir Christopher Wren was one of the last persons to see the bust in position at Whitehall. Mr. Ernest Law, in his valuable work on the pictures by Van Dyck at Windsor Castle, has fallen into the error of describing this drawing as a sketch of the bust as it stood in the palace of Whitehall, whereas the drawing appears to be nothing more than a reminiscence, worked up into a new design for the proposed decorations of Hampton Court Palace. In any case, the bust as shown in the sketch is too small to scale to be of any real evidence as to style. Copies of the Bernini bust appear to have been executed by Rysbraek, one of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Among the invaluable collection of engravings bequeathed to the British Museum by the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, and now in the Print Room of the

KING CHARLES I. UNFINISHED ENGRAVING BY ROBERT VAN VOERST (?) AFTER THE MARBLE BUST BY BERNINI. IN THE PRINT ROOM, BRITISH MUSEUM

British Museum, is an unfinished state of an engraving representing a bust of Charles I. There is no name of engraver, but the style of engraving is in every way that of the middle of the seventeenth century in England and France. No other copy of this engraving is known, no finished print, and the Cracherode engraving appears, so far as can be judged by general knowledge at the moment, to be unique.

Placing this engraving by the side of the triple portrait by Van Dyck the eye will be at once caught by the general similarity between the bust and the painting. Bernini has not slavishly copied the painting, no great artist would have done that. He has studied it carefully, rearranging the draperies and other features so as to suit the limitations of a marble bust. Here is found the hair, " in prodigious quantity, and incomparable loose and free," as described above. The pointband and lace collar would have been very fine, as they are in the bust at St. James' Square, if its details had been carried out in the engraving. The line of the bust is broken in a thoroughly Berninesque way by the sash crossing the chest and tied in a knot on the left shoulder. To balance this the heavy lock of hair which falls over the left shoulder in Van Dyck's portrait has been transferred to the right shoulder. The *volto funesto* of the painting has been changed by the sculptor to a more lively and genial expression. In the bust as engraved can also be seen " the little lockes of hair," about the safety of which Bernini showed so much anxiety.

There seems to be good reason, therefore, for believing this engraving to be taken from the original bust of Bernini. But why was it never finished, and who was the engraver? The engraver's work resembles strongly that of Robert van Voerst, a Flemish engraver employed in London by the king, whose engraving of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria with a Wreath, done in 1634, is well known to collectors. Van Voerst was one of the engravers employed on Van Dyck's *Iconographie*. Van Voerst's engravings are, however, dated in the years before the bust had arrived in England. Little is known of the later days of Van Voerst. If he be the engraver of this plate, he may have been prevented by death or illness from completing the plate, or else the progress of the plate, whether by Van Voerst or another, may have been checked by the outbreak of the civil war and the disasters to the royal cause. Rare as this print appears to be, and possibly unique, its most genuine interest lies in its being probably the only existing record of the famous bust of Charles I. by Bernini.

Before concluding it may not be out of place to ask readers to compare this bust with the portrait of Oliver Cromwell in the House of Commons, generally attributed to Bernini. The bust of Cromwell is executed in a fine monumental style, with nothing of the florid and almost excessive vivacity and realism of Bernini. In this bust Cromwell wears the medal struck to commemorate the battle of Dunbar. Apart from an overwhelming evidence of style, is it conceivable that Bernini, the sculptor *par excellence* to the Pope and the Holy Conclave, and later on the honoured and over-adulated favourite of King Louis XIV. at Paris, should have been willing to execute a bust, or allowed to execute one if willing, of a man who represented to the Papal Court all that was most evil and dangerous in human nature, the arch-enemy of the Roman Church, who, moreover, is shown wearing a medal specially designed to commemorate the victory of a subject who had not only trodden a monarchy into the dust, but had dared to lay violent hands on God's anointed king, and even take his king's life?

LIONEL CUST.

XIX

PORTRAITS OF QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD BY HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

THE discovery of a new and authentic portrait, painted in England by Hans Holbein the younger, is in itself an event of no little interest. When the portrait is that of an English queen, and a queen with a romantic and tragic history, the interest is intensified. There is nothing remarkable in the fact that Holbein painted the portrait of Queen Catherine Howard, the fifth wife of King Henry VIII., as she was by no means the first of his royal master's consorts whose features he thus immortalised.

There is no evidence to show that Holbein ever painted a portrait of Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII.'s second wife, although he was in London at the time of her marriage to the king, and designed some of the pageantry at her Coronation procession for his friends the Hanse merchants at the Steelyard. No one of the authenticated portraits of Anne Boleyn, and they are very few, bears any resemblance to the work of Holbein, nor does the painter seem to have entered the king's service until after Anne's fall and execution. Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife, sat, as is well known, to Holbein for her portrait, which has been preserved in more than one repetition, the original being probably that now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. Possibly the excellent repetition on a smaller scale in the Royal Picture Gallery at the Hague may also be the work of Holbein himself. The story is well known of Holbein's journey to Germany to paint the portrait of Anne of Cleves, Henry's fourth wife; and the other story of the journey to paint the young widow, Christina, Duchess of Milan, as a prospective bride for his much-bereaved master, is a matter of interest to all visitors to the National Gallery. It is not surprising, therefore, that Holbein should have painted a portrait, or more than one portrait, of Catherine Howard, who had the misfortune to become Henry VIII.'s fifth consort with such a tragic result.

There is no need to relate here the melancholy tale of the rise and fall of Catherine Howard. The daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, the granddaughter of the Duke of Norfolk who was slain at Bosworth, and the niece of that Duke of Norfolk who was allied by marriage to the king, Catherine was by birth in no way unfitted for her elevation to royal rank. The exact date of her birth is uncertain, but it must have been about 1520 or 1521, in which case she would have been about nineteen or twenty years of age when she first attracted the attention of the king in 1540, just at a time when Henry had begun to be dissatisfied with the company of his fourth consort, Anne of Cleves. The descriptions of Catherine Howard's appearance are very scanty. She was very small (*parvissima puella*), but very graceful and sprightly in manner. Marillac, the French ambassador, retailing gossip to King

PORTRAIT OF QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD.
BY HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Francis I. at Paris, speaks of Catherine at first as "a lady of great beauty," but qualifies this later on to "a young lady of moderate beauty (*beauté médiocre*) but superlative grace; in stature small and slender." He further remarks that she dressed after the French fashion. Catherine Howard was married to Henry some time in July 1540, and on August 8 following was introduced to the public at Hampton Court Palace as queen. The king seems to have been genuinely in love with his new consort, and for some twelve months the royal pair seemed to have enjoyed great happiness. Then came rumours of scandal about Catherine's early life, proofs and confessions of matters which had been concealed from the king, and finally a charge of unfaithfulness with a young and handsome relative. This definite charge was never proved nor admitted, though the presumed offender met his death on the scaffold. Catherine's fate was, however, sealed. She was degraded from her dignity as queen, and on February 11, 1541–2, she met her death by beheading within the Tower of London. Such, shortly, was the career of the queen whose portraits we have to consider.

Holbein was at this time high in the royal favour. His portraits in miniature belong to this period of his career, and one in the royal collection at Windsor Castle has long borne the name of Catherine Howard. In this portrait (see plate, fig. c), the queen wears a square cut grey dress edged with a broad band of golden jewels over a white chemisette, and deep fur sleeves. Her hair is smooth and auburn, parted in the middle, and she wears a French hood, trimmed with pearl and gems, with a long black veil falling at the back. Round her neck, over the chemisette, is a double necklace of pearls and gems, with a large pendant jewel. Her hands, showing richly worked cuffs at the wrists, are folded together before her. The miniature is circular, painted on a blue ground, on card, and measures about two inches in diameter. An almost precise replica of this miniature, slightly reduced in circumference (plate, fig. A), is now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House, and was recently exhibited at the Exhibition of Early English Portraiture at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. It was formerly in the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the great collector, and the chief representative of the Howard family. While in the Arundel collection it was etched by Wenzel Hollar, in 1645, though the portrait has hitherto escaped identification (see Parthey, No. 1546, and here, plate, fig. B). The miniature subsequently passed into the collection of Jonathan Richardson the younger, and of Horace Walpole, at Strawberry Hill.

The evidence of these portraits in miniature is supported by one of the famous drawings by Holbein, preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. We find here the same features, the same smooth auburn hair, brushed in soft waves over the ears, or covered, as in the miniatures, by a French hood. The dress in the drawing is a simple bodice with a square insertion, and an opening to show the neck and bosom. If further proof should be required that these portraits represent Catherine Howard, students of physiognomy can hardly help being struck by the resemblance in certain pronounced features of the face, represented in all these portraits, to those of Catherine's uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, in the well-known portrait by Holbein at Windsor Castle, and to those again of his son, the ill-fated Earl of Surrey. The over-accentuated chin or lower jaw, so striking in the male portraits, contribute in the lady's portrait to confirm the French ambassador's description of her *beauté médiocre*. The upper part of the face is well formed, and can easily be imagined as possessed of much attractive charm.

PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS

In April 1898, the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery acquired at the sale of Mr. Cholmondeley's pictures at Condover Hall in Shropshire, a portrait of a lady of the Holbein period, which was recognised easily as a portrait of the same lady represented in the drawing at Windsor and in the two miniature portraits by Holbein. The dress in the Windsor drawing was repeated, though the painting was in the reverse direction. The portrait was clearly that of Catherine Howard, and as such it has taken its place in the National Portrait Gallery. This portrait bore the inscription in capital letters ETATIS SVÆ. 21, which corresponds with the known facts of Catherine Howard's life. The excellence of the drawing of the hands and the care with which the jewels and the fabrics of the dress were executed at first led to the supposition that the National Portrait Gallery picture might be a genuine work by Holbein, which had experienced some vicissitudes of maltreatment and restoration. More careful examination, however, led to the safer conclusion that it was a careful, contemporary school copy, or repetition, of some lost portrait by Holbein, and as such it has been described in the gallery.

This decision has been fully justified recently. During the summer months of 1909, when the interesting exhibition of Early English Portraiture at the Burlington Fine Arts Club was drawing to a close, two portraits were submitted to the present writer at the National Portrait Gallery, which belonged to the school of Holbein. They came from a private collection in the West of England, where they had formed part of a series of historical portraits, which had been inherited by descent for several generations in the same family. One of these portraits then bore the name of Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Cumberland, and had also been known as Princess Mary Tudor. It was at once seen to be identical with the portrait of Queen Catherine Howard already in the National Portrait Gallery. On placing the two portraits side by side for examination, it was at once evident that the newly discovered portrait, in spite of the customary accretions and disfigurements of time and unskilful repair, while it corresponded in every detail with the portrait from Condover, also excelled it in every detail to a degree that led one to hope that the new portrait might prove to be the original painting by Holbein. Before the portrait passed into a private collection in Canada, steps were taken to remove the disfiguring varnish and repaints, which proved fortunately to be merely superficial. There was then revealed a painting which is clearly the original work of Hans Holbein, and cannot fail to take a high place among the portraits executed by him at this stage of his career. It is obviously of the same period as that of the Duke of Norfolk at Windsor Castle, and that of Sir Bryan Tuke, lent by Miss Guest to the exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

The portrait is painted on an oaken panel measuring 29 ins. high by 20 ins. wide. The queen sits with her hands clasped and the fingers interlaced as in the miniatures. Her hair is smooth and auburn and parted in the middle as in the Holbein drawing; her eyes are bluish grey. As in the other portraits, she wears a French hood edged with white, heavily embroidered in gold, with a falling black veil. She is richly, though quietly dressed in a black satin gown, with a square black velvet yoke across the bosom, cut open at the neck and turned back to show the white lining. The full sleeves are adorned with heavy gold embroidery and tags at the seams, showing richly worked cambric ruffles at the wrists.

Her ornaments are of particular interest. Round her neck she wears a narrow necklace of exquisite design and execution, set with pearls and diamonds, to which is

A

B

E

C

D

(A) MINIATURE BY HOLBEIN. IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH
(B) ENGRAVING BY W. HOLLAR FROM (A), THEN IN THE ARUNDEL COLLECTION
(C) MINIATURE BY HOLBEIN. IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, WINDSOR CASTLE
(D) JEWEL WITH 'LOT'S WIFE,' DRAWING BY HOLBEIN. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
(E) DRAWING BY HOLBEIN. IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, WINDSOR CASTLE

attached a large pendant jewel, as in the miniature portraits. On the breast of her gown, just below the opening at the neck, is affixed a brooch from which hangs a circular jewel richly chased in gold with a large diamond in the centre. The jewel represents the story of Lot's wife and the flight of Lot from Sodom. It is strange that Catherine Howard should have selected so ominous a subject, so suggestive of the frailty and irresolution of the female mind. It is this jewel, however, which, as the work of Holbein himself, will ever attach a special interest and value to this portrait, for Holbein's original sketch for the jewel is among the priceless series of his drawings for jewellery and ornaments in the Print Room at the British Museum (see plate, fig. D). Another large circular jewel, evidently also designed by Holbein, is seen attached to the queen's girdle, but not enough is visible to determine the exact subject.

The rich costume and the jewels have a pathetic interest when we read how, in November 1541, Catherine Howard was deprived of the full dignity of a queen, and forbidden to wear jewels with stones or pearls, though she was permitted to wear sleeves, gowns, and kirtles of satin, damask, and velvet, and French hoods with edges of goldsmith's work.

The newly discovered portrait described above is painted on a low-toned blue ground, particularly characteristic of Holbein's work. It is ascribed in capital letters, ETATIS SVÆ.21, as in the National Portrait Gallery copy, and must have been painted between August 1540 and November 1541, probably in the latter year, which would correspond with the accepted age of the queen at the time of her marriage. Hampton Court Palace has ever been associated with the short and tragic life of Queen Catherine Howard, and some regret must be felt that so important a portrait of the local heroine should not find a permanent home amid the still existing scene of her former grandeur.

The importance of this painting as a new addition to the known work of Holbein has been accepted by competent judges in this country, and by such authorities as Dr. W. Bode and Dr. Friedländer at Berlin, and Dr. Paul Ganz, director of the museum at Basle. Dr. Ganz, in a letter to Sir Sidney Colvin, which we are kindly permitted to quote, says :—

" I estimate the picture as genuine and very important work of Holbein's hand : the picturesque execution is as good as it is in the portrait of Christine of Danemark and the drawing of the face is still finer. . . . It belongs to the same group of portraits as the Duke of Norfolk in Windsor Castle."

The portrait of Queen Catherine Howard seems to be a companion portrait to that of a lady in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. In this portrait, which came at an early date into the imperial collection at Prague, the lady wears a similar dress, and stands in a similar attitude. She also wears a circular gold jewel on her breast.

LIONEL CUST.

DANIEL MYTENS IN ENGLAND

THE general opinion that Daniel Mytens came to England about 1618 seems to be correct. By 1620 we find him being paid for work which had been done at Court, and, as payments were never very prompt, we may take it that the work was done during 1619, and reckon a year at least for him to have made his way thus far in fashionable circles where Nicholas Hilliard and Paul van Somer were still in vogue. In the "Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber," Audit Office (Bundle 391, Roll 58), there appear two entries—one a payment to Paul Von Somer, dated November 3, 1619, for a portrait of King James, and one of Queen Anne, and another to Daniel Mytens, the earliest that I have noted:

"To Daniell Myttens upon the Council's Warrant, dated at Whitehall, 25th May 1620, for making the picture of the Earl of Nottingham, by his Majesty's commandment with a guilded frame for the same, £32."

It is necessary to note that in the following roll I find: "To Paule Van Zomer upon the Council's Warrant, dated 27th June 1621 for drawing at length the two pictures, the one of his Majesty and the other of the Prince, which were delivered to the Polonian Ambassador £60."

In Roll 60 there is the significant entry: "To Cornelia Vanzomer Executrix to Paule Vanzomer on the Council's Warrant dated 10th Oct. 1621 for two whole pictures of his Majesty, and one of Prince Henry made by his Majesty's especial command £90." Again: "To Cornelia Vanzomer wife to Paull Vanzomer picture drawer, upon the Council's warrant, dated at Windsor, 8th July 1622, for His Majesties picture by him drawen and given to Mr. Jebb £30."

In Roll 61 there is still another payment: "To Cornelia Vanzomer, wyfe of Paule Vanzomer Picture-Drawer, upon the Council's Warrant, dated 10th Jan. 1622–3, for drawing his Majesties picture at length, given to the Earl of Holderness, £30." I thought it wise to include these, because they lead up to the following entry: "To Danyell Mittens upon the like warrant dated 4th April 1623, for drawing his Majesty's picture at the length, which was given to Monsieur Boyschote ambassador from the Arch Dukes £30." In the same year appears: "To Daniell Mittens upon a warrant dated 9th October, 1623, for a picture of the Prince his Highness drawne at length and delivered to Don Carlos de Colona, the Ambassador from the King of Spaine, £30." There is another copy of this in Roll 62, duplicate of the above, but no further mention of his name appears in this series down to 1642. It is to be supposed that his payments were dealt with in another department, after he was taken, more or less formally, into the royal service.

Daniel Mytens must have become very popular at court before 1624, because on July 19th of that year King James gave him a grant of £25 in hand and a pension of £50 a year for life, to date from the Christmas following, "In consideration of the good

service done unto us . . . and for his encouragement in his art and skill of Picture-drawing." This, however, was only "on condition that he do not depart from the realm without a warrant from the King or the Council, and that he do not refuse such service and employment in his art as shall be reasonably required of him." (Coll. Sign Manual, James I, XVI, No. 46.) [This clearly points to the King's annoyance at Van Dyck's behaviour.—ED.]

Prince Charles was an even warmer patron. In August 1624 he granted the painter a house in St. Martin's Lane. This was duly enrolled through Sir Henry Hobart, December 30, 1624. "In and by one indenture dated 29th August last made between ourself and Daniell Mittens of London, picture-drawer, for good considerations us moving, we have granted to the said Daniell Mittens all the messuage or tenement, with the yard or garden plot behind, enclosed in a brick-wall, at the upper end of St. Martin's Lane, in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, of which premises we stand possessed, for divers years yet to come, under a lease made by Allen Turner unto Sir Patrick Murray, and by him assigned to us to hold for twelve years and a half, at sixpence a year for rent, if it be asked."

When Charles became king he made Mytens "Picture Drawer to the King" for life, with an allowance of £20 above his former pension: "Wee having experience of the faculty and skill of Daniell Mittens in the art of picture-drawing, of our special grace . . . do give and grant unto the said Daniell Mittens, the office or place of one of our Picture-Drawers of our Chamber in ordinary . . . to enjoy the said office or place with the yearly fee of £20 . . . for and during his natural life, with all the other fees, profits, advantages, rights, liberties, commodities and emoluments whatever, thereto appertaining." This was procured for him by Mr. Endymion Porter, May 30, 1625, and the patent was signed June 4, 1625. (Pat. I, Car. I, p. 24, N. 4. The warrant is preserved among the Conway Papers. The patent is printed at length in Rymer's Fœdera XVIII, 120, and again in the Appendix to Dallaway's edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.)

Very soon after his appointment there was issued a "warrant to pay to Daniell Mittens the King's Picture Drawer £120 for a copy of Titian's Great *Venus*." (St. Pap. Dom. Ser. Car. I, IV, 2, July 2, 1625. Also in Coll. Sign. Man. Car. I, Vol. I, No. 17, noted by Peter Cunningham in the *Illustrated London News*, March 27, 1858.)

Among the Conway MSS. there is preserved a Warrant to the Exchequer to "pay to Daniel Mytens, His Majesty's Picturer, the sum of £125 for divers pictures by him delivered to sundry persons by His Majesty's special direction. July 31, 1626." The subjects of these pictures I have not yet found. Another entry is clearer in detail. "Warrant to pay to Daniell Mittens the King's painter £100 for 3 pictures, one of James IV. of Scotland, one of Mary the last Queen of Scotland, another of His Majesty's own royal person." (St. Pap. Dom. Ser. Car. I, LXX, 54, July 10, 1627. Also among Coll. Sign. Man. Car. I, Vol. III, 46.)

In the list of the Royal Pictures sold by the Parliament are "King James the 4th, done by Mittens £4, sold to Mr. Baggley," and "Mary, Queen of Scotland, done by Mr. Mittens £20, sold to Mr. Grinder." (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4898.)

Another set of entries I have lately found among the Lord Chamberlain's books at the Record Office. Unfortunately the volume which contained the warrants between 1603 and 1628 has gone astray, and nothing has been preserved in this series of a period so full of interest. But much fuller particulars concerning Mytens may be gleaned from

the volume between 1628 and 1641, on pages from which the old drying dust still shakes and shines.

The entries are not all strictly consecutive, and do not concern themselves so much with the time of painting as with the date of payment. Still, they give a general idea of dates, are definite at times as to the place where the painting was made, and note occasionally descriptions of the portraits, and the names of those who received them.

In Series V, Vol. 93, p. 16, there is " A Bill signed for Daniell Mittens, Picturemaker to His Majesty, for an allowance of £120, for 2 pictures by him made, viz., one great one of His Majesty's Royal Person, sent by the Earl of Carlisle, to the Countess of Nasson (*sic*) ye 22nd of April 1628, and another of the Queen and the Dwarfe, delivered to Madam Nourice, ye 16th of May, price £80, and of the former £40. Memorandum, payment for such services are made unto him out of the Exchequer by vertue of a privy seal to the Lord Treasurer for the purpose, May 16th, 1628."

In the same year another bill was made out for Mytens " for £95 for 2 pictures by him made, viz., for one great one of ye Queene and ye Dwarfe, both in one peece delivered at Whitehall ye 25th June 1628, by his Majesties command to my Lord Carleton, to be sent to ye Queene of Bohemia, of £80 price, and for another of the picture of Prince Henry with a prospect, delivered to his Majesty the same day, of £15 price, amounting to the sayd some of £95, July 2nd, 1628."

In that year there had been drawn up a list of certain Royal servants, with a view to releasing them from paying subsidies. After " the musicians," appear the names of " Daniell Mittens, Picture-Drawer ; Peeter Oliver, limner." At the foot is added a note, " All these passed in one Privy Seal, except Mr. Mittens and Peeter Oliver," probably because they received higher salaries. By November 4 Mytens had a " Certificate to pay subsidies in Westminster only, like the other Household servants."

On October 17, 1628, there was a bill signed for Mytens " for £80, for a great picture of the Queene and the dwarfe Jeffrey, both in one peece delivered by his Majesties special appointment the 8th of August, 1628, to Walter Rowan, to be by him carryed to the Dutchess of Saxe (*sic*) beyond the seas." This was evidently unpaid at the time, for it appears again in a warrant to pay Mytens " for making three pictures, viz., a great picture of the Queen and the dwarf Jeoffrey, both in one peece, and delivered ye 8th of August 1628 to Walter Rowan to be carried to the Dutchess of Saxe of £80 price. Another of his Majesty's own Royal Person and delivered to ye Earl of Salisbury ye 19th February, 1628–9 ; and the third of ould Palma, being our Lady with the child and two other figures, and delivered to his Majesty's own hands, 24th of Aprill, 1629, of £40, in toto £160. Signed ye 20th Aprill, 1629." This portrait of Charles I. is one of the few which seem to have had no wanderings. It remains at Hatfield House. It is enumerated among Musgrave's notes on the pictures in private collections in this country as " whole length Daniel Mytens," with a marginal note " They call it Vandyck." (Brit. Mus. MSS. 5726, E. 1.)

In the same year there is a bill signed for " Mr. Daniell Mittens . . . for £40 for his Majesty's picture at length, delivered by my Lord Chamberlain's warrant to Edward Johnson, to be by him conveyed over into Ireland. Another picture of like length and price delivered by his Majesties special command to ye Earl of Suffolk. For charges for making those pictures at Greenwich £10 . . . in all £90. July 2nd, 1629."

I have not been able to find any further details about these.

The following year there was a similar " bill for Daniell Mittens . . . viz., £60

for his Majesty's picture at large with a prospect, and the Crown and the Sceptre, in a scarlet embroidered suit, and for charges in making that picture at Greenwich ; £40 for the Queen's picture at length in a pearl suit, and £12 for charges at Greenwich and Nonesuch, where it was made ; and £5 for perusing two pictures of ye King and Queene in black and white, to be cut out in brasse. Signed Aprill 2nd 1630."

On June 24, 1630, a warrant was signed to pay to "Daniell Mittens, the King's picture-drawer, £80, viz., £40 for the King and Queen's half-picture sent to ye Queen of Bohemia, and £40 for ye picture of Jeoffry in a wood, sent to St. James's." This seems to have been the picture "Jeoffry Nanus at length in a landscape done by Mittens sold to Mr. Grinder." (Add MSS. 4948.)

In 1631 there is "a Bill signed for Mr. Daniell Mittens . . . for allowance of £105 unto him for pictures, viz., £50 for his Majesty's picture at large, with a prospect and the Crown and Sceptre, in a scarlet embroidered suit, delivered by special command unto the Lord Bishop of London in April, 1631 ; £50 more for ye like picture delivered to ye Earl of Pembroke in May, 1631 ; £5 for making ye said pictures and attendance at Greenwich, signed June 29th 1631." The latter is at Wilton.

Next year there was a payment of £90 to him, "£50 for the King's picture at length, given to the Lord Viscount Dorchester, and £40 for the picture of ye late Earl of Pembroke, placed in the gallery at Whitehall, 6th June, 1632."

In that year Cornelius Johnson was also "sworn his Majesty's servant, in ye quality of picture maker, December 5th, 1632." Mytens was still at work : "A warrant to Daniell Mittens to deliver to the Lord Deputy the picture he lately made of the King, July 22nd, 1633." But in significant juxtaposition to this is recorded, "A similar warrant to Sir Anthony Vandike to deliver his Lordship the picture of the Queene he lately made for the Lord Chamberlain. *Eodem die.*" The payment to Vandyck, who had been knighted by Charles in the previous year, is not recorded in this series, but that to Mytens duly follows. "A warrant to Daniell Mittens . . . for £100, viz., £50 for his Majesty's picture at length for the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and £50 for another the like to be delivered to John Tanadieck, an ambassador from Poland, January 31st, 1633–4." That is the last notice of Mytens in Volume 93, but in Volume 95, page 5, there is a special entry, "A Bill signed for £100 unto Mr. Daniell Mittens, picture-drawer, for two peeces of his Majesty, delivered to the Earl of Morton, and the one for his Lordship, and the other for the Council of Scotland, May 24th, 1634." This is the last notice of Daniel Mytens in the Lord Chamberlain's books, but that does not make it certain that he painted no more. His house in St. Martin's Lane, it may be remembered, was granted him for twelve and a half years from 1624, and the termination of the lease may have had some effect on his movements.

The list I have given above is a testimony to Mytens' industry. It records fifteen portraits of Charles I. painted by him, of which four went abroad, three to Ireland and two to Scotland. How many more he painted during the period for which the books are lost cannot be now reckoned.

CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

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